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# Cross currents in English and German fiction of sensibility, 1760-1830.

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CROSS CURRENTS IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN FICTION OF SENSIBILITY,

1760-1830

by

Ute Gertrud Hertel

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of  
Arts, English Literature, in the Department  
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1973

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## I. INTRODUCTION.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century marks the first period in the literary interrelationship between England and Germany in which more than a casual contact was established between the two countries. However, English interest in German literature was still limited to isolated works, the reason being perhaps that in prose fiction the German writers seemed to lag behind their English contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> In the first half of the eighteenth century there were no German Richardsons or Fieldings, although their novels were of immense popularity and influence in Germany. The speed with which English novels were translated into German seems quite astonishing and clearly indicates the enormous interest in English prose fiction.<sup>2</sup> These novels, especially the sentimental type of Richardson and Sterne, were not only translated but also adopted and imitated. It is obvious that England played the leading role in this period.

Goethe's Die Leiden des jungen Werthers is one of the first German works of fiction which became widely popular in England.

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<sup>1</sup> V. Stockley, German Literature as Known in England, 1750-1830, (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat Press, 1969), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Horst Oppel, "Der Einfluss der englischen Literatur auf die deutsche", Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss, ed. H. Stammer, (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1962), 3, p. 280. Richardson's Pamela (1740) was translated in 1742, Clarissa (1748) in 1748; Fielding's Tom Jones (1749) was translated in 1750; also, Sterne's Tristram Shandy Vols. I and II (1759) was translated in 1763, Sentimental Journey (1768) in 1768.

While owing a great deal to the English sentimental novel, Werther is an original work, not just another imitation. However, for a number of years, it was almost the only creditable prose fiction that attracted readers in England. In the 1790's a flood of the so-called Ritter-Räuber-und Schauerromane followed, which, based on the Gothic novel in England, provided the English public, in turn, with materials for their own tales of horror and mystery. The sentimental novel had finally given way to the Gothic, and till well into the nineteenth century, this type of fiction seemed to be the only kind that was exchanged between the two countries.

Most of the literary critics are alike in their criticism of this flood of second-rate fiction that invaded the two countries. Indeed, hardly anything worthy of notice appeared in these novels of horror. Ernest A. Baker calls this period "dull if it were judged by purely literary standards". A German critic, Günther Weydt, expresses a similar attitude:

Der im späten 18. Jahrhundert äusserst verbreitete Vergangenheitsroman lebt; ebenso wie der Räuber-und Schauerroman aus den mitgeschleppten Elementen der populären Unterhaltungsliteratur, künstlerische Talente werden unter Vulpius, Schlenkert, Fesser, Veit Weber, Cramer und Spiess, kaum zu entdecken sein.

These two critics represent the major trend of criticism, some of which is expressed in even more derogatory terms.

<sup>3</sup> Ritterroman refers to a novel of chivalry, centering around mediaeval knights. Räuberroman is a novel dealing with brigands and robbers, while Schauerroman is a novel which deals with ghosts and supernatural occurrences.

<sup>4</sup> Eudo C. Mason, Deutsche und englische Romantik: Eine Gegenüberstellung (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1970), p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> Ernest A. Baker, The History of the English Novel (London: H. F. and G. Witherby, 1942), 5, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Günther Weydt, "Der deutsche Roman von der Renaissance bis zu Goethes Tod", Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss, op. cit., 2, p. 1294.

Only in recent years have critics such as Montague Summers and Devendra P. Varma turned to this period with new interest and appreciation. Both Summers and Varma fail, however, to give a convincing, adequate analysis of the literary relationships of this period between England and Germany. They suggest that the later development of the Gothic novel in England, the "intense school", can be attributed to the influence of the German Schauerroman and to the writers of the Sturm und Drang movement—considered by both Summers and Varma to be the initiators of the horror novels. Varma states in his book The Gothic Flame that "the progenitors of these genres—the Ritter-Räuber und Schauerromane—were Goethe and Schiller".<sup>7</sup> He also points out the German influence on M. G. Lewis: "the best embodiment of the German and its fusion is The Monk of Lewis".<sup>8</sup> However, he does not make clear the precise way in which German influence appears in Lewis' work.

A more careful investigation into the literary interrelationships between England and Germany in this particular period, therefore, would appear to be worthwhile. At the same time it may also be enlightening to look at this "dull period" in the history of the novel from the point of view of its influence on later developments. It is a plausible theory that the generally neglected fiction of the last quarter of the eighteenth century contained the seeds of a new type of fiction. Since literary history must be seen as a continuous process which cannot be exactly divided into periods, it also becomes necessary to take into consideration both the preceding and succeeding periods of the Gothic movement.

<sup>7</sup> Devendra P. Varma, The Gothic Flame (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), p. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 149.



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It is hoped that an investigation of this kind will lead to a fairer judgement of the novel in the last quarter of the eighteenth century not generally considered of merit or interest.

## II. SENTIMENTALISM: THE SENTIMENTAL NOVEL IN ENGLAND AND ROMAN DER EMPFINDSAMKEIT IN GERMANY

### The Sentimental Novel in England

The rise of the novel in England in the first part of the eighteenth century can be considered as a reaction to the idealistic world of the romances with its heroic individuals and incredible adventures. From its beginnings the novel turned to everyday-life individuals with whom the middle class reader could identify. In this context it is significant to note that the heroes and heroines of these novels bear common everyday names like Tom Jones or Pamela Andrews. However differently the world is viewed by the creators of these two characters, the average individual in his relationship to modern situations and problems is the center of interest. In Fielding's novels the outer world of experience is stressed, while in Richardson's the inner world becomes the focus of attention. Both authors do not only want to entertain the reader, but instruct him as well. Fielding's object was to laugh men out of their follies and vices, and tickle them into good manners. Richardson aimed at the same ultimate goal when he gave an example of virtue rewarded and vice punished.

The optimistic philosophers of the Age of Reason had an influence on these early novelists which must not be forgotten. Shaftesbury, for instance, insisted on an innate moral sense, that leads man naturally to sympathize with the sufferings of his fellow beings and seek their happiness as well as his own. The latitudinarian divines stressed benevolence and moral sense more than original sin and life after death, and held in

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<sup>1</sup> Erwin Wolff, Der englischen Roman im 18. Jahrhundert: Wesen und Formen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1968), p. 6.

general an undogmatic belief. All these trends took form and found expression in both Richardson and Fielding. The minute description of the heroine's moral sensations, which is found in Richardson's novels, and the new way the world is mirrored in her subjective responses, led critics to call this type of novel "sentimental".

The words "sentimental" and "sensitivity", indeed, were so widely adopted in the course of the century, that the latter part of it is called by one critic "The Age of Sensibility".<sup>2</sup> More and more the emphasis was placed on the individual's capacity for feeling rather than on intellectual knowledge or moral reflections, which at first had been closely united with it: feeling morally rather than thinking morally was stressed.

In Sterne's novels the world of reality is relevant only insofar as it produces emotions in the individual. At the same time the individual is not an ordinary person but a very exceptional man: Tristram Shandy. Yet Sterne does not go back to the idealistic world of romance. The contrast between heroic ideal and the world of reality in Sterne is as strong as it is in Fielding, if not stronger. The hero, Tristram Shandy, is hero and author of the novel at the same time and continually views himself and the world around him in an ironic way. This ironic attitude saves Sterne's novel from that dead-serious cult of feeling which characterizes his followers. For Sterne, sensitivity is necessary in an otherwise meaningless world; for his followers, sensitivity becomes all-important, an end in itself.

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See Northrop Frye's article "Towards Defining an Age of Sensibility" in Eighteenth Century English Literature: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. J. L. Clifford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 311-318.

The action of the novel consists essentially of a number of incidents through which we view the hero's emotional experiences. . In order to achieve the highest amount of responsiveness to sensibility in the reader, Sterne had to introduce new stimuli. The reader had to be tricked into emotional response by continual excitement of his sensibility. Louis I. Bredvold, in his book The Natural History of Sensibility, points out the first traces of terror in this later stage of the novel of sensibility. In his opinion, "the novel of terror was only a variant of the novel of sensibility, exploiting a <sup>3</sup>fresh excitement, trying to push <sup>3</sup>suspense and apprehension to the utmost".

However, there were other literary and even extra-literary influences that contributed to the rise of the Gothic novel. The Graveyard Poetry, Percy's Reliques and Macpherson's Ossian, together with other works exemplifying the new interest in the middle ages, until then considered barbarous and wild, show a general change of sensibility that greatly influenced prose fiction. It was possible now to find pleasure even in the horrid and terrifying aspects of nature, in the terrible beauty of landscape as well as in the morbid traits found in the human soul. Thus, the general change of sensibility had prepared the way for the development of the Gothic novel.

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<sup>3</sup> Louis I. Bredvold, The Natural History of Sensibility (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962), p. 88.

Roman der Empfindsamkeit in Germany

The German novel in the first part of the eighteenth century shows, undoubtedly, how far the German novelists were from an independent, original production in this new literary genre. The very titles of the German novels published at that time betray their English origin. The title of Nicolai's book, for instance, Leben und Meinungen des Herrn Sebalduß Nothanker, is an obvious imitation of Sterne's Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy. The three main types of fiction which had already developed in England, and which were represented by Richardson, Fielding and Sterne, were the patterns which German novelists tried to imitate. The greatest emphasis was placed on the type initiated by Richardson and Sterne, for in Germany too, the cultivation of sensibility and the cult of feeling were en vogue.

By 1780 the sentimental novel was still the most widespread kind of prose fiction, and only a decade later the first Ritter-Räuber-und Schauerromane began to appear. Eva D. Becker, in her very careful study Der deutsche Roman um 1780, did not find one single novel of the Gothic type among the innumerable books published around the year 1780: "Die Romantypen, die ein Jahrzehnt später die Romanproduktion beherrschen, die romantischen und pseudo-romantischen Ritter, -Räuber-und Schauerromane, fehlen um 1780 noch ganz".<sup>4</sup> Thus, while in England the Gothic novel was already well-established, with Walpole's Castle of Otranto (1764) and Clara Reeve's Old English Baron (1768) among others, no trace of this type of fiction was as yet visible in Germany.

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<sup>4</sup> Eva D. Becker, Der deutsche Roman um 1780 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964), p. 2.

From the 1750's to the 1790's the sentimental novel, der empfindsame Roman, reigned supreme. The word empfindsam again points at the English origin of this popular type of fiction. Lessing is said to have suggested it to his friend J. C. Bode as an appropriate translation for the English word "sentimental". Sentimental journeys in imitation of Sterne became a fad. Richardson's influence is seen in works like Sophie von Laroche's Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim. What characterized the sentimental fiction in Germany as well as in England, was the strong didactic and moral tone. Virtue rewarded and vice punished was the accepted formula of the novelists in both countries. Virtue was sentimentalized and idealized, while at the same time the interest was in the world of reality and its problems. It is usually female virtue on which the novel focuses, and it usually emerges triumphant at the end, despite the many dangers and threats that lie in the way.

The first who clearly deviated from this pattern is Goethe. His Werther, only partly a sentimental novel, actually goes beyond the genre. One could consider it the sentimental novel in extremis. Werther is not an ideal for Goethe. He neither defends his right to boundless passion, nor is his novel an apology for suicide, but it depicts the sorrow, the sufferings of the sentimental hero. The unfolding of his inner crisis is meant as a liberation from sentimental values. It is a kind of catharsis, and it served just this purpose for the author himself.

It is not surprising that the sentimental novelists who tried to imitate it could not go any further without degenerating into second-rate lachrymose horror stories. Johann Martin Miller's Siegwart already contains elements found in the novels of horror.

Monastery and graveyard scenes are means of achieving strong emotional effects. The hero of the novel, Xaver Siegwart, effectively dies at the grave of the heroine to whom he has been true even to his last breath.

In Germany too, the way had been prepared for the development of the Gothic novel.

### III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GOTHIC NOVEL IN ENGLAND: FROM HORACE WALPOLE TO ANN RADCLIFFE

The English novel in the first part of the eighteenth century has been considered as a deliberate reaction against the idealistic romance. Despite the idealization and sentimentalization of moral sense and virtue, the novel was essentially realistic. The "here and now" was important, not the heroic past. But while the Age of Reason had thus rendered the old romances obsolete and brought them into disrepute, they were still read. J. M. S. Tompkins gives the following explanation for this phenomenon in The Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800:

The recalcitrant human mind, especially the recalcitrant female mind, continued to demand the 'mixture of a lie', and, since no new lie had been invented the old one had to serve. It survived, however, in an apologetic, halfhearted way, heavily snubbed by reviewers, who are always fretful about resuscitations of the heroic romance.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the natural and realistic mode had become too familiar and too exclusive during the first part of the century, leaving no room for the mysterious and marvelous. It was Horace Walpole with his book The Castle of Otranto, who turned away from "the noonday glare of Augustan formalism" to "the mysterious twilights of mediaevalism".<sup>2</sup> Walpole is now generally considered the initiator of the Gothic novel, and indeed, was the first to call his book "A Gothic Story". It is significant to note that Walpole changed the term "Gothic" from an adjective of opprobrium to one of praise.

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<sup>1</sup> J. M. S. Tompkins, The Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961), p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> Dorothy Scarborough, The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), p. 6.



This was new, for as Alfred E. Longueil states,

In English of the eighteenth century the adjective "Gothic" is employed as a definite and recognized synonym for barbarous. Most often this usage is in connection with ignorance, cruelty, or savageness qualities associated with the inherited Renaissance view of the middle ages.<sup>3</sup>

Starting with Walpole the term underwent a significant change of meaning and finally became clearly a literary term, a synonym for all the supernatural, mysterious and grotesque features of Gothic fiction. However, it must be stressed that this concept of the "Gothic" was limited to England. In Germany "Gothic" never became a literary term. This becomes evident when one searches for the equivalent of the Gothic novel in Germany. Neither the Ritter-Räuber nor the Schauerroman refers to the "Gothic". The term in Germany is clearly restricted to artistic phenomena alone, such as the new interest and appreciation for the Gothic cathedrals of the Middle Ages, which found expression in Goethe's essay Von deutscher Baukunst. It is important to mention this fact here, because it helps to distinguish between the different meanings and value of the term "Gothic" in the two countries. W. D. Robson-Scott, in The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany, tries to stress the difference in meaning of the term "Gothic" in England and Germany in the following manner:

The so-called Gothic novels which made a contribution of a sort to Romantic mediaevalism in general ... [added] nothing to the Gothic revival in particular. Indeed in Germany - where they are referred to, more accurately as Schauerromane or Ritter- and Räuberromane - they do not even have the name in common.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Alfred E. Longueil, "The Word 'Gothic' in Eighteenth Century Criticism", Modern Language Notes 38(1923), p. 455.

<sup>4</sup> W. D. Robson-Scott, The Literary Background of the Gothic Revival in Germany: A Chapter in the History of Taste (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 111.

For Walpole "Gothic" means simply "mediaeval". However, he views the Middle Ages with the eyes of a person who built a pseudo-mediaeval castle and filled it with mediaeval objects, a person for whom the collection of antiques was a hobby. Walpole was fully aware that he was initiating a new type of fiction, and being afraid that the strangeness of his book might expose him to ridicule, at first passed it around for an old Italian manuscript. However, the enormous success of Castle of Otranto proved that his fears had been groundless. In the preface to the second edition therefore, Walpole finally disclosed his authorship and stated his objective in writing such a new type of novel:

It was an attempt to blend the two kinds of romance, the ancient and the modern. In the former all was imagination and improbability, in the latter, nature<sup>5</sup> is always intended to be, and sometimes has been copied with success. Invention has not been wanting, but the great resources of fancy have been dammed up, by a strict adherence to common life. But if in the latter species Nature has cramped imagination, she did but take her revenge, having been totally excluded from the old romances.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, in Walpole's opinion, the new novel he had created was meant to combine the realism of modern fiction with the imagination of the old romances. Moreover, the heroes and heroines were to act not as common people in ordinary situations, but like "mere men and women would do in extraordinary situations".<sup>6</sup> For the first time in the history of the novel, the gulf between the world of reality and the heroic world of the romances was to be bridged.

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Quoted in Ioan Williams, ed., Novel and Romance, 1700-1800: A Documentary Record (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1970), p. 266.

6

Ibid.

The two worlds were to blend, or at least Walpole meant them to blend.

Something else was new in this first Gothic novel. Walpole admitted that his book was the result of a dream, not of long and careful observation of the world around him. A passage from a letter addressed to the Reverend William Cole in March, 1765, throws some light on the origin and motivation of his book:

... Shall I even confess to you what was the origin of this romance! I waked one morning, in the beginning of last June, from a dream of which all I could recover was that I had thought myself in an ancient castle, (a very natural dream for a head filled like mine with Gothic story), and that on the uppermost bannister of a great staircase I saw a gigantic hand in armour. In the evening I sat down and began to write without knowing in the least what I intended to say or, relate. The work grew on my hands, and I grew fond of it - add, that I was glad to think of anything rather than politics. In short, I was so engrossed with my task, which I completed in less than two months, that one evening, I wrote from the time I drank my tea, about six o'clock, till half an hour after one in the morning, when my hand and fingers were so weary, that I could not hold the pen to finish the sentence, but left Matilda and Isabella talking in the middle of a paragraph. You will laugh at my earnestness, but if I have amused you, by retracing with any fidelity, the manners of ancient days, I am content and give you leave to think me as idle as you please.<sup>7</sup>

Four points are of interest in this letter. First, Walpole's book is the result of a dream, and one in which the castle plays a major role as the natural symbol of the chivalric past, secondly, the book seems to be for Walpole a means of escaping from unpleasant aspects of the world around him especially from politics; thirdly, it enables him to give full reign to his imagination, the book being the result of his subconscious

longings; and lastly, Walpole hoped that his descriptions of "the manners of ancient days" would contribute to the reader's knowledge of the mediaeval past.

In view of Walpole's opinions, the novel itself merits further examination. The plot is full of complexities, with great emphasis on suspense and excitement. Manfred, the prince of Otranto, is haunted by a mysterious prophecy. In order to circumvent it, he tries to marry his only son, Conrad, to the daughter of the rightful heir of Otranto. However, on the morning of the wedding, Conrad is found crushed beside an enormous helmet. Manfred, however, pursues his design by deciding to marry Isabella himself, and thus orders Father Jerome to deliver her from the sanctuary of St. Nicholas, where she has found protection with the help of a young peasant, Theodore. Manfred also intends to behead Theodore and orders Father Jerome to hear his confession before the execution. However, Father Jerome recognizes Theodore to be his long-lost child. The culmination point of the story is reached when the castle is shaken by a clap of thunder and one hundred knights carrying a huge sword arrive. Alfonso the Good appears, too, demanding that Manfred surrender Otranto to the rightful heir, Theodore, who has been identified by the mark of a bloody arrow. Alfonso then rises to heaven, where he is received by St. Nicholas. The story ends with Manfred and Hyppolita, his wife, retiring into convents, and Theodore marrying Isabella, after Matilda, his beloved, has been killed accidentally by her own father.

The characters of Walpole's novel may be considered archetypes of the Gothic school. Manfred is the typical tyrant, who does not shrink from plotting the murder of his own wife. Isabella is the delicate, beautiful maiden of many Gothic novels, who is continually endangered and persecuted, and has all the sensibility of the sentimental heroine.

Bianca is the pattern of all the chattering and superstitious servants, and Theodore, the prince disguised as the peasant, is also a favourite character of later Gothic novels. The Gothic machinery - the mediaeval castle with its subterranean passages and dungeons, the gloomy atmosphere with lightning, thunder and gusts of wind, midnight-bells, strange sounds and other elements - all of this was explored and used further by Walpole's followers.

Despite the Gothic machinery and the supernatural forces that are introduced for the first time, Walpole's book is basically a very rational story. In reality, the supernatural forces are part of a rational world and act only as agencies to punish the bad and reward the good. This formula was already used by the sentimental novelists. All the supernatural incidents, such as the appearance of Alfonso the Good, are only meant to prove the justness of divine providence. The world in Walpole's novel is not threatened by evil, demonic forces which willfully exercise their powers; rather all actions are explainable in terms of heavenly ordination; nothing is otherwise mysterious or truly marvelous. Even the tyrant Manfred finally admits that he has "offended heaven" and therefore accepts the divine judgement without grumbling:

"To heap shame on my own head is all the satisfaction I have left to offer to offended heaven. My story has drawn down these judgments: let my confession atone."<sup>8</sup>

Although the supernatural is not explained away as in most of the later Gothic novels in England, the basis for supernatural incidents is a rationalistic, Christian one. Walpole's novel therefore is actually still a product of the Age of Reason.

Devendra P. Varma seems to contradict this statement when he suggests like M. Summers that the Castle of Otranto is a forerunner of surrealism. He refers to:

... the automatic development of ideas and their reproduction without any rational, moral or aesthetic censorship. The repressed content of the unconscious mingles freely with the more conscious images, and a new art form results.<sup>9</sup>

It is true, as Walpole himself admitted, that a lot of dream-like qualities enter into his book, but as to the missing moral and rational censorship, there is no basis for such a statement in Walpole's novel. All actions in the novel prove the existence of a fundamentally just and moral order which all characters recognize. Manfred's evil deeds are not attributed to his own immoral nature, rather, they are seen as springing from unfortunate circumstances and temporary aberrations:

The circumstances of his fortune had given an asperity to his temper, which was naturally humane; and his virtues were always ready to operate, when his passion did not obscure his reason.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, even Manfred seems to possess an almost Shaftesburian, innate moral sense.

Walpole's own attitude toward the supernatural is partly revealed in his preface, where he takes great pains to justify its introduction into the novel:

Belief in every kind of prodigy was so established in those dark ages, that an author would not be faithful to the manners of the times who should omit all mention of them. He is not bound to believe them himself, but he must represent his actors as believing them.<sup>11</sup>

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Varma, p. 74.

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In Three Gothic Novels, pp. 66-67.

11

Williams, p. 264.

There may be doubts whether Walpole's statement should be taken seriously. At that time the general trend was against the supernatural in fiction, and Walpole may have felt a need to find an acceptable reason for it. Nevertheless, it seems obvious that Walpole himself had a clearly rational attitude towards it. In the same preface, he mentions "terror" as the "author's principal engine". However, there is no doubt that terror is seen as psychological device and has no really supernatural connotations. Terror, according to Walpole "prevents the story from ever languishing; and it is so often contrasted by pity, that the mind is kept in constant vicissitude of interesting passions"<sup>12</sup>. Terror is the pleasant feeling, the tickling of the nerves that the reader experiences when he follows the heroine on her flight through the subterranean passages. It is nothing more than "interesting" and far from inspiring any real anxiety.

To sum up Walpole's innovations, it could be said that he was the first to introduce the marvelous and supernatural into fiction. In his version, however, they still have a rational function; namely, divine retribution. He was the first to use the Gothic machinery and certain stock characters which later novelists developed further. For the first time in the history of the novel, the mediaeval past was the scene, viewed through the eyes of an eighteenth century person.

If the major innovation of Walpole had been the introduction of the supernatural and marvelous, Clara Reeve, on the other hand, who called herself the "literary offspring" of Walpole, almost entirely eliminated supernatural incidents. Despite her admiration for Walpole's concept of blending "the most attractive and interesting circumstances of the

ancient romance and the modern novel",<sup>13</sup> she objected to his violent, supernatural machinery:

The machinery is so violent that it destroys the effect it is intended to excite. Had the story been kept within the utmost verge of probability, the effect had been preserved, without losing the least circumstance that excites or detains the attention.<sup>14</sup>

In her book The Old English Baron (1778), Clara Reeve minimized the supernatural to the utmost, leaving only one very timid ghost. Her real concern was moral and didactic, a fact that becomes evident in the original title of The Old English Baron, The Champion of Virtue. The sharp distinction between good and bad characters is further proof for her moral concern and at the end there are no doubtful mixed characters left: all are appropriately rewarded or punished. J. M. S. Tompkins recognizes this didactic trait by calling The Old English Baron a "conduct book with Gothic trimmings".<sup>15</sup> Tompkins also points out the "homely and practical streak" in Clara Reeve's book, in which "we find knights regaling on eggs and bacon and suffering from toothache".<sup>16</sup>

Clara Reeve did not contribute anything essentially new to the Gothic novel. In her emphasis on moral values and ethics, she is a typical representative of her time. She chooses the Gothic mode only because, in her view, the realistic novel displayed too much of the disgusting and immoral in human nature, whereas "romance displays only the amiable side of the picture; it shows the pleasing features, and throws a veil over

<sup>13</sup>

Ibid., p. 299.

<sup>14</sup>

Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>

Tompkins, p. 229.

<sup>16</sup>

Ibid., p. 230.



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the blemishes".

Whereas Clara Reeve had minimized the supernatural in fiction, Ann Radcliffe excluded it altogether. All supernatural occurrences were explained away either immediately or after a long period of suspense. It is this latter new method of ingeniously arousing and heightening suspense, the continual suggestion of horror and mystery, that is the main characteristic of Radcliffe's novels. Critics generally agree that the artistic qualities of her books far surpass those of her forerunners. Her talent for description of romantic landscapes, in particular, has been noted with respect. Since Ann Radcliffe's novels had great influence and popularity both in England and in Germany, it may be enlightening to examine them more carefully.

J. M. S. Tompkins states that Ann Radcliffe's novels strongly resemble each other:

They play, for the most part, in glamorous southern lands and belong to a past which, although it is sometimes dated, would not be recognized by any historian. In all of them a beautiful and solitary girl is persecuted in picturesque surroundings, and, after many fluctuations of fortune, during which she seems again and again on the point of reaching safety, only to be thrust back into the midst of perils, is restored to her friends and marries the man of her choice. In all of them this simple theme is complicated by mystery and involved at some point, in terrible, often supernatural suggestions.<sup>18</sup>

It may be permissible therefore, to choose Radcliffe's most popular novel, The Mysteries of Udolpho, as a representative of all her others.

This novel opens with a description of the quiet life of St. Aubert and his family in southern France, in the midst of pastoral scenery, removed from the bustle of the world. This idyllic life is interrupted

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 299.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 251.

by the death of St. Aubert's wife, and soon thereafter, he and his daughter Emily set out on a journey through the Pyrenees. However, the sickly St. Aubert dies en route near a chateau, around which heavenly strains of music are sometimes heard. Emily is subsequently taken care of by her aunt, Madame Charon, in her chateau in Toulouse. Emily's sufferings begin, when Montoni, a tempestuous tyrant, marries Madame Charon and takes them both to his ancient and gloomy castle, Udolpho. Scenes of horror await Emily in this awful place. Horrible sights, strange sounds and supernatural occurrences hold her in continual suspense. After her aunt dies, driven to death by her cruel, unfeeling husband, Emily finally escapes from this horrid castle only to arrive at the Chateau Le Blanc, a scene of new horror and mystery. Finally, all strange occurrences are explained and Emily is reunited with her lover Valancourt. The novel ends with the author's moral summation:

O! Useful may it be to have shown that, though the vicious can sometimes pour affliction upon the good, their power is transient and their punishment certain, and that innocence, though oppressed by injustice, shall, supported by patience, finally triumph over misfortune.<sup>19</sup>

Ann Radcliffe does not seem to doubt that the powers controlling the world are basically just and good, and that they prevent the intrusion of evil and vice. True innocence and virtue, in her view, are always a weapon against the dark powers that sometimes threaten us. J. M. S. Tompkins refers to this view of the world when she points out that Ann Radcliffe's heroines "have no enemy within" and that "they are sure that innocence will be divinely shielded".<sup>20</sup> The world in her novels is

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Ann Radcliffe, The Mysteries of Udolpho, ed. Bonamy Dobree (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 672.

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Tompkins, p. 259.

therefore still an ordered and rational one. There are, however, irrational powers visible in her books although they do not really threaten the characters. They find their outward expression in the awful and terrifying scenery, but are actually only the outcome of a heated imagination.

Ann Radcliffe was the first to look at scenery in such a way and to make it one of the most important elements of her novels. She gave it an almost poetic quality which was altogether new in the prose fiction of the eighteenth century, a time when landscape descriptions were still considered as appropriate subject matter only for poetry. The scenery in The Mysteries of Udolpho has not only aesthetic value, but also contributes to the structure of the novel. The changes of scenery from the idyllic site of southern France to the awe-inspiring gloomy castle surrounded by mountains, and thence back to green pastures, marks the three major stages of Emily's adventure: her happy and solitary life in the pastoral scenery of France, her terrible, nerve-wracking experiences in the castle of Udolpho, and her happy reunion with Valancourt in the midst of the gently rolling hills of her native country.

There is also a constant, deliberate attempt to give balance to the terrifying and beautiful aspects of scenery. Ann Radcliffe never allows the dark to prevail for a lengthy period of time, and for this purpose, introduces light and happy images to neutralize the ominous ones. Emily's descent from the sublime heights of the Alps to the lovely Mediterranean plains is one example of this balance:

After traversing these regions for many leagues, they began to descend towards Roussillon, and features of beauty then mingled with the scene. Yet the travellers did not look back without some regret to the sublime objects they had quitted though the eye fatigued with the extension of its powers, was glad to repose on the

verdure of woods and pastures, "that now hung on the margin of the river below."<sup>21</sup>

This description might have been taken out of the Reverend Gilpin's Northern Tour. Indeed, as Klaus Poenicke points out, Ann Radcliffe repeated almost the exact words Gilpin used, when she described the pastoral landscape surrounded by the Alps as "a perfect picture of the lovely and sublime - of beauty sleeping in the lap of horror".<sup>22</sup> Poenicke states:

"Hussey erwähnt in 'The Picturesque' ... den von William Gilpin wiedergegebenen Ausruf eines Mr. Avison angesichts einer solchen Landschaft der Gegensätze: 'Here is beauty indeed - Beauty, lying in the lap of Horror!'"<sup>23</sup>

This picture of beauty sleeping in the lap of horror is, however, not only of interest as a formulation of the picturesque school: it is also an image of the heroine herself. Emily, the beautiful young maiden, is indeed surrounded by horror in the castle of Udolpho. Even though Emily is thus endangered, Ann Radcliffe takes great care not to make horror too real. She is not concerned with shocking, realistic horror, but with half-frightening, half-pleasing terror. In this respect she is a follower of Edmund Burke, who states:

When danger or pain press too nearly, they are incapable of giving any delight, and are simply terrible, but at certain distances, and within certain modifications, they may be, and they are delightful as we every day experience.<sup>24</sup>

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Radcliffe, p. 43.

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Ibid., p. 55.

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Klaus Poenicke, "Schönheit im Schosse des Schreckens: Raumgefüge und Menschenbild im englischen Schauerroman", Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, 207 (1971), p. 8.

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Edmund Burke, Works, 9 Vols. (Boston: C. C. Little and J. Brown, 1839), 5, A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful; with an Introductory Discourse Concerning Taste, p. 82.

For Ann Radcliffe, terror is a psychological device, which acts most strongly on a person's imagination while his judgement is momentarily suspended. It is aroused by the contemplation of barely visible, shadowy objects and scenery, wrapped in gloom and mystery. For this reason, Radcliffe has a strong predilection for twilight and dawn, for glimmering candlelight and moonshine.

Twilight had now spread its gloom over every object; the dismal obscurity of her chamber recalled fearful thoughts, but she remembered that to procure a light she must pass through a great extent of the castle, and above all, through the halls, where she had already experienced so much horror.<sup>25</sup>

Landscape descriptions equally stress the gloomy and shadowy aspects. Their very vagueness is used as a means of arousing the reader's imagination and of preparing him for all the frightening incidents that follow. This is the case, for instance, when Ann Radcliffe describes the castle of Udolpho:

As she gazed, the light died away on its walls, leaving a melancholy purple tint, which spread deeper and deeper, as the thin vapour crept up the mountain, while the battlements above were still tipped with splendour. From those too, the rays soon faded, and the whole edifice was invested with the solemn duskiness of evening. Silent, lonely and sublime, it seemed to stand the sovereign of the scene, and to frown defiance on all, who dared to invade its solitary reign. As the twilight deepened, its features became more awful in obscurity, and Emily continued to gaze, till its clustering towers were alone seen, rising over the top of the woods.<sup>26</sup>

This description of the castle at dusk already foreshadows, very subtly, the terror that Emily is going to experience within its walls, and at the same time, the reader's imagination is stimulated by the very

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Radcliffe, p. 319.

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Ibid., p. 226.

suggestiveness of its half-seen grandeur.

More than the reader's imagination is inspired; it is the heroine's as well. It is just Emily's imagination that truly endangers her, for, as there is no real terror, the actual threat springs from her own unrestricted fantasies. This is also why imagination is so often associated with anxiety, and with her strong urge to seek paradoxically the dangers she tries to flee from. Thus, one night, Emily feels compelled to investigate an unknown chamber of the castle:

She perceived no furniture, except indeed, an iron chair, fastened in the centre of the chamber, immediately over which, depending on a chain from the ceiling, hung an iron ring. Having gazed upon these, for some time, with wonder and horror, she next observed iron bars below, made for the purpose of confining the feet, and on the arms of the chair were rings of the same metal. As she continued to survey them, she concluded, that they were instruments of torture, and it struck her that some poor wretch had been fastened in this chair, and had there been starved to death. She was chilled by the thought; but what was her agony when, in the next moment, it occurred to her, that her aunt might have been one of these victims, and that she herself might be the next! An acute pain seized her head, she was scarcely able to hold the lamp, and looking around for support, was seating herself, unconsciously, in the iron chair itself, but suddenly perceiving where she was, she started from it in horror, and sprung towards a remote end of the room.<sup>27</sup>

This example shows how the otherwise so rational and sensible heroine, does indeed succumb to irrational drives. However, moments like this do not occur too often, and ultimately reason and good sense triumph over superstition and fantasy.

Ann Radcliffe's greatest achievement is the creation of an uncanny atmosphere, and the description of awful and terrifying scenery. Both atmosphere and scenery are means of arousing terror, and by their

suggestiveness stimulate the reader's imagination as well as the heroine's. The supernatural terror, which Walpole had introduced, is altogether absent from Ann Radcliffe's works. The only momentary glimpses of irrational forces cannot truly threaten the basically rational world of her novels.

Reviewing the three Gothic novels thus far discussed, one may summarize their basic characteristics in the following way:

1. The supernatural and marvelous elements distinguish the Gothic novel most markedly from its predecessor. However, only Walpole was bold enough to introduce real ghosts. In Ann Radcliffe's novels the supernatural disappears altogether and is considered mere superstition. All seemingly supernatural incidents turn out to be illusory or are explained away as having natural origins.
2. The Gothic machinery, introduced by Walpole, is further developed and refined with special emphasis placed on the evocation of an uncanny atmosphere and description of terrifying scenery and landscape. The stress is again placed on natural, and not supernatural phenomena.
3. The stimulation of the reader's imagination is another feature of the Gothic novel. Even Walpole, whose attempt in this seems rather crude compared to Ann Radcliffe's, wanted to give access to "the great resources of fancy, (which had) been dammed up".<sup>28</sup>
4. The setting of all three Gothic novels is sufficiently removed both in time and space from the common experiences of the eighteenth century reader, so that the imagination is not limited by any means.

5. The irrational does not really play a major role in the novels so far discussed. In Walpole, seemingly irrational forces turn out to be agencies of the divine. In Ann Radcliffe, the irrational elements do not come from beyond and threaten the world of her novels, but are internalized and seen as the mere outgrowth of an unrestricted fancy.

In all three novels, the powers governing mankind are benevolent, just and good, rewarding the good, shielding innocence and virtue, and punishing the bad. It appears, therefore, that the underlying views in these novels reflect typical eighteenth century standards. Although the Gothic movement had come about as a reaction to classicism, the basic principles of these novelists, as seen in their novels, are conventional and rooted in rational thinking.



#### IV. GOETHE, SCHILLER AND GERMAN STURM UND DRANG

The analysis of the Gothic novel in England has shown that, despite its outward romantic features, it was characterized by fundamentally rational eighteenth-century standards. A consideration of the literary interrelationship between England and Germany, raises the further question: Was the German equivalent of the Gothic, the Ritter-Räuber-und Schauerroman, different from its English counterpart, and if so, did it contribute anything radically new, or was it just a German offspring, stemming from the same roots? This is an important question to ask because the overwhelming majority of critics dealing with this period attribute all the wild and grotesque elements of the later "intense school" of the Gothic novel in England to the pernicious and destructive flood of bad literature imported from Germany.

It is generally held that Goethe and Schiller were the initiators of this type of fiction, which became immensely popular in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Thus, Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen is said to be the archetype for all the Ritterromane, Schiller's Räuber the pattern for all the Räuberromane and his Geisterseher the first in a flood of Geister-und Schauerromane. This belief is so common and widely spread among German and English critics alike, that it may be meaningful to examine the three works more closely, to see whether or not there is substantial proof for calling them the "progenitors" of the Ritter-Räuber und Schauerromane. Since similar themes and motifs are but part of this investigation, emphasis must also fall on what part these themes and motifs play in the author's attitude as seen in the work, and in his stylistic means of expression, among other things.

The Sturm und Drang movement, in which both Goethe and Schiller took part in their youth, may be considered as a vehement and bitter attack against the rigidity of German class structure, the motionlessness of society, the Frenchified culture of the aristocracy, the polite society and its literary conventions.<sup>1</sup> The members of the movement, embittered with their contemporary state, often looked to the past with nostalgia, to uncorrupt, natural societies in which the individual could live a rich and full life and where he could still be a whole man. The main objective of their works was to free man from everything that hampered his energy, creativity and personal freedom. An intense life, in which all man's qualities, emotions as well as reason, were fully developed and active, was the ideal of these young revolutionaries. The passionate, violent vocabulary, the rhythm of excitement, the rejection of stylized speech, and the earthy, unaffected tone that characterizes most of their dramatic works, are outward expressions of their unconventional, revolutionary attitude.

The main theme of the Sturm und Drang writers is the conflict between natural man and existing corrupt society. This is even true for the works that are projected into the past such as Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen. The favourite character is the Kraftkerl, the energetic ever-active hero, whereas the sentimental, weak characters are looked upon as disgusting and degenerate. An overabundance of feeling and a full heart are, however, positive characteristics. Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand (1773) was published when he was twenty-four years old. The source of the play is the Lebensbeschreibung

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Roy Pascal, The German Sturm und Drang (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967), p. xv.

Herrn Goezens von Berlichingen, zugenannt mit der eisernen Hand (Nürnberg, 1731) and the Autobiographie (1562) Goezens von Berlichingen, written shortly before his death.<sup>2</sup> It is clear from these sources that Goethe's description of the late Middle Ages was not simply an outcome of an escapist fantasy; rather, it was the result of long and careful study and of a deep interest in the historical past.

In the twelfth book of Dichtung und Wahrheit Goethe states:

Die dunkleren Jahrhunderte der deutschen Geschichte hatten von jeher meine Wissbegierde und Einbildungskraft beschäftigt. Der Gedanke, den Götz von Berlichingen in seiner Zeitgebung zu dramatisieren, war mir höchlich lieb und wert. Ich las die Hauptschriftsteller fleissig: dem Werke, 'De pace publica' von Datt widmete ich alle Aufmerksamkeit, ich hatte es einsig durchstudiert und mir jene seltsamen Einzelheiten möglichst veranschaulicht. Diese zu sittlichen und poetischen Absichten hin gerichteten Bemühungen konnte ich auch nach einer anderen Seite brauchen, und da ich nunmehr Wetzlar besuchen sollte, war ich geschichtlich vorbereitet genug.<sup>3</sup>

It is clear that Goethe's Götz is based on historical fact. Indeed, it is an historical play, centering around an historic personality, whose tragic end is occasioned by the historical circumstances in which he is placed.

Shakespeare is Goethe's great model in this endeavour. Goethe's remarks about Shakespeare's plays may be equally applied to his Götz von Berlichingen:

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<sup>2</sup>  
Hebert A. and E. Frenzel, Von den Anfängen bis zur Romantik, Bank 1, Daten deutscher Dichtung: Chronologischer Abriss der deutschen Literaturgeschichte (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1962), p. 180.

<sup>3</sup>  
Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Gesammelte Werke in sieben Bänden. Hrsg. von Bernt von Heiseler (Bielefeld: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1958), 6, #. 436.

...., seine Stücke drehen sich alle um den geheimen Punkt, /: den noch kein Philosoph gesehen und bestimmt hat:/, in dem das Eigenthümliche unsres Ichs, die prätendirte Freyheit unsres Wollens, mit dem notwendigen Gang des Ganzen zusammenstösst.<sup>4</sup>

This, indeed, was the very problem Götz had to face and which ultimately caused his tragic end.

Götz, the honest, rough-and-ready, warm-hearted mediaeval knight, is doomed from the beginning: time is his enemy. The mediaeval values of honesty, valour and strength are replaced by corruption and weakness. Götz's personal freedom is more and more limited. He is first introduced uttering the words: "es wird einem sauer gemacht, das bisschen Leben und Freiheit"; and his last words are again "Freiheit! Freiheit!"<sup>5</sup> Götz falls into the net that his enemies have prepared for him and becomes guilty himself. This is an important factor, since it shows that Goethe carefully avoided oversimplification and an all too strong discrimination of good and bad characters. Already in his speech Zum Shakespeares Tag he had said:

....das was wir böß nennen ist nur die andere Seite vom Guten, die so notwendig zu seiner Existenz und in das Ganze gehört, als Zona torrida brennen und Lapland einfrieren muss, dass es einen gemässigten Himmelsstrich gebe.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, Adelheid too, the demonic female character, has a place in this play. However, despite her fascination, even on Goethe himself, she is only one part of the whole. A downright earthiness is the general

<sup>4</sup> Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Die Leiden des jungen Werthers und frühe Prosa (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1970), p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Werke, 14 Bände, textkritisch durchgesehen von W. Kayser (Hamburg: Christian Wegener Verlag, 1965), 4, p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> Goethe, Werther, p. 11.

tone of the play. It is never given up for the sake of delusiveness and mystery. The secret tribunal, the "Fehme", at which Adelheid is sentenced to death, is a gruesome, gloomy scene. However, it has its legitimate place in a play that wants to give an authentic picture of the sixteenth century. Moreover, the scene is so short, so controlled in tone, and entirely devoid of supernatural suggestions, that Goethe cannot be accused of deliberating using it for the mere purpose of thrilling the reader, and of arousing horror for its own sake.

In summation, it may be said of Goethe's first attempt in drama that: Götz was meant as an antithesis to the corrupt social order of Goethe's time. The hero Götz, the natural man, and the chivalrous, human and free character, represents a life style that is radically opposed to the conventional world of the enlightenment. The form of the play is equally opposed to the conventional literary ideals. The language is clear and down to earth, free from stylization. The dialogue is vivid, natural and adapted to the characters. Ruggedness is preferred to smoothness, the natural expression to artificiality. The historic past is vividly and faithfully portrayed. Gloom, mystery, horror and demonic powers are part of the rich, kaleidoscopic chronicle, although they are only a small portion in the overall picture. Characters are valued for their truth to nature, their strength and greatness. Oversimplifications are avoided, richness and complexity stressed.

Turning from Goethe's Götz to Schiller's Räuber, the reader is at once confronted with features that were missing in Götz. Goethe's language had been natural, unaffected and down to earth: Schiller's language is exalted, passionate, often sardonic, and in every respect, extreme. The background of Schiller's drama is not the mediaeval past,

but the eighteenth-century present. His hero is a member of contemporary society. The interest is not so much in the clash between two different social modes but much more in moral and metaphysical problems that are not limited to one particular period in the history of mankind.

Even more than in Goethe's drama, "freedom" is the underlying principle of Die Räuber. Freedom is the passionate urge of the hero, and it is this, in Schiller's opinion, that makes him great and truly human. But freedom also leads him into guilt and despair, and only when he finally recognizes his guilt and by his own free will atones for it, is he once again a free man. Karl Moor wishes to live quietly in his native country. However, he is disinherited by his father through the intrigues of his brother. He is swept away by political idealism and becomes the leader of a band of robbers, trying to build a society of equality and justice. He wants to fight against the wealthy, the corrupt and the powerful and to help the poor. However, he realizes very soon that the means he uses only lead to anarchy and even do harm to those he wanted to aid. Thus he exclaims to the robbers, who are altogether insensitive to his real aims:

O pfui über den Kindermord, den Weibermord! - den Knabenmord!  
Wie beugt mich diese Tat! Sie hat meine schönsten Werke  
vergiftet - da steht der Knabe, schamrot und ausgehöhlt  
vor dem Auge des Himmels der sich anmasste mit Jupiters  
Keile zu spielen, und Pygmäen wiederwarf, da er Titanen  
zerschmettern sollte.<sup>7</sup>

Karl Moor fails, however, to extricate himself from his band. So deeply is he involved, that only his death can free him and restore the majesty of divine law. He is not a figure of horror, but a great man who is misguided and seduced by intrigues. Although his good intentions

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<sup>7</sup>  
Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, Sämtliche Werke, 5 Bände  
(München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1967), I, p. 548.

cannot be realized, the reader can still sympathize with his idealistic aims, all the more as he sacrifices himself to restore the divine order he had rejected.

O über mich Narren, der ich wännte die Welt durch  
Greuel zu verschönern und die Gesetze durch  
Gesetzlosigkeit aufrecht zu halten ..... Aber noch  
bleibt mir etwas übrig womit ich die beleidigten  
Gesetze versöhnen und die misshandelte Ordnung wiederum  
heilen kann. Sie bedarf eines Opfers, eines Opfers,  
das ihre unverletzbar Majestät vor der ganzen Mensch-  
heit entfaltet - dieses Opfer bin ich selbst. Ich  
selbst muss für sie des Todes sterben.<sup>8</sup>

However, this strong belief in the majesty of divine law as expressed by Karl Moor does not prevent him from seeing himself as a toy in the hands of an unremitting, powerful fate. In the first act, just after he has become the leader of his band of robbers, he addresses them in the following way:

Nun denn, so lasst uns gehen! Fürchtet Euch nicht  
vor Tod und Gefahr, denn über uns waltet ein  
unbeugsames Fatum! Jedes ereilt endlich sein Tag,  
es sei auf dem weichen Kissen von Flaum, oder  
im rauhen Gewühl des Gefechtes, oder auf offenem  
Galgen und Rad! Eins davon ist unser Schicksal!<sup>9</sup>

Despite his titanic strength and energy, Karl Moor is painfully aware of his own frailty and his helplessness. He knows he cannot escape his fate in spite of his actions. All the burning passion for freedom and the exuberant energy that permeate the drama, cannot make him forget that man is a miserable worm, despite all his strength. Karl Moor experiences this just as Faust did when he said:

Den Göttern gleich' ich nicht! Zu tief ist es gefühlt;  
Dem Wurme gleich' ich, der den Staub durchwühlt.

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Ibid., p. 617.

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Ibid., p. 516.

Den, wie er sich im Staube nährend lebt,  
Des Wandrerst-Tritt vernichtet und begräbt.<sup>10</sup>

Karl Moor is great, yet he is frail. He is triumphant in his urge for freedom, yet he is forced to see how fate governs him. However, in Schiller's eyes, he is still a noble character. He sins against divine and human laws, but he acts from impulse, not from abstract rules.<sup>11</sup>

His brother, on the other hand, is the cynical weakling who acts from reason, who carefully and coolly contrives an intricate, murderous plan, and does not listen to the voice of his heart. In his "Vorrede zur ersten Auflage" (1782), Schiller describes Franz in the following way:

Wer es einmal so weit gebracht hat (ein Ruhm, den wer ihm nicht beneiden), seinen Verstand auf Unkosten seines Herzens zu verfeinern, dem ist das Heiligste nicht heilig mehr - dem ist die Menschheit, die Gottheit nichts - Beide Welten sind nichts in seinen Augen. Ich habe versucht, von einem Missmenschen dieser Art ein treffendes lebendiges Konterfei hinzuworfen, die vollständige Mechanik/seines Lastersystems auseinandezugliedern - und ihre Kraft an der Wahrheit zu prüfen.<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, Karl is seen as entirely the opposite character, a great man who is able to become either an angel or a devil:

Ein Geist, den das äusserste Laster nur reizt um der Grösse willen, die ihm anhängt, um der Kraft willen, die es erheischt, um der Gefahren willen, die es begleitet. Ein merkwürdiger, wichtiger Mensch ausgestattet mit aller Kraft, nach der Richtung die diese bekommt, notwendig entweder ein Brutus oder ein Catalina zu werden.<sup>13</sup>

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This passage is quoted in Karl S. Guthke, Englische Vorromantik und deutscher Sturm und Drang: M. G. Lewis' Stellung in der Geschichte der deutsche-englischen Literaturbeziehungen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953), p. 223.

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See Geoffrey Keynes, ed., Blake: Complete Writings with Variant Readings (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 158 for the following from "A Memorable Fancy" in Blake's "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell": "Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules."

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Schiller, 1, p. 485.

13

Ibid., p. 486.



It is clear from this where Schiller's sympathies lie. Despite his emotional excesses, Karl Moor has all the propensity of a good and strong man: Franz's falseness and calculating intrigues are totally absent from his character. It may rightly be said, that Franz's guilt is just his exclusive reliance on abstract cold reason by sacrificing the inner emotions of his heart. Reason, in this early drama at least, appears as a corrupting power that may lead man to disregard divine and human law and ultimately to do evil. Reason alone, it seems, is neither a solution nor a basis for a just and humane world order.

In summation, there are several striking, noteworthy features in Schiller's first drama.

It is, first of all, the strong pathos, that characterize the speeches of his heroes, the violent and sardonic language, always aimed at truth despite obvious exaggerations. A harsh and violent strain pervades the whole drama.

The underlying theme of the play is freedom: the moral and metaphysical freedom of man, as well as the freedom of the individual as opposed to the society he lives in.

The irrational enters into Schiller's play through his strong emphasis on passion, the voice of the heart, and the emotional forces which govern the hero. The irrational also enters with the view of man in the hands of an "unbeugsames Fatum".

Reason, as the first and most important principle of the Enlightenment, is questioned. As the sole guideline, it is even seen as having evil influences. In Schiller's belief, vice and virtue, evil and good, exist side by side in human beings, and cannot be neatly divided. It is man's circumstances and his own decision that determine

the preponderance of the one or the other.

It may therefore be concluded that in form and contents, Schiller's drama was a youthful and violent attack on the society in which he lived, and on those principles of the Enlightenment which, in Schiller's view, enslave and corrupt man.

The dramas discussed before were typical examples of the Sturm und Drang movement. It was in drama, moreover, that the Stürmer und Dränger excelled most, and where they found their aims realized best of all. Schiller's Geisterseher is one of his few attempts in prose fiction, and despite its great popularity in the eighteenth century, is almost forgotten now. The reason for this may be that Schiller himself was dissatisfied with it and never finished it. The philosophical ideas, which he inserted in the last part of the novel, were of great interest to Schiller himself, yet they seemed to unbalance the novel as a whole. Also, the readers of the journal Thalia, in which the Geisterseher appeared by instalments, were much less interested in the psychological and philosophical problems than in the exciting material.

In the novel Schiller describes the development of a young German prince during his stay in Venice. Step by step he falls a victim to the intrigues of a secret society, headed by a mysterious Armenian, who appears now and again in different masks. However, the first attempt on the prince by a Sicilian, also connected with the secret society, fails, for the hero can easily see through his primitive machinations. The prince's rationality is strong enough to fight back the attempt. It is ironic to see in the following stages how it is precisely the great pride and overconfidence in his reason that makes him the easy prey of

the Armenian's shrewd psychological manoeuvres. He is finally converted to catholicism and thus the major aim of the secret society has been realized. What follows after that can only be concluded from hints given throughout the novel, for Schiller's account stops with the conversion of the prince. Stokoe points out that the English translation contains letters not given by Schiller: it also includes "the further career of the Armenian and his horrible death; also the Prince's last years, his profession of the Catholic faith, and his death by lightning",<sup>14</sup> all of which Schiller omits.

Schiller takes the greatest care to analyse in detail the subtle psychological means used by the Armenian and his society to lead the Prince gradually into the trap they have prepared for him. At the same time, the prince's predispositions and the different features of his character are minutely described. His religious belief and education both play an important role and are used skillfully by the Armenian to gain power over him. Thus, the internal and external presuppositions for his development, driving him from naiveté and melancholy to scepticism, mysticism and crime, are made clear.

From the tone of the novel, the reader would never suspect that the author of the Räuber wrote it. The calm, objective prose of this work is entirely free from pathos. The material of the novel itself is said to be taken from the memoirs of a certain Graf O - , whose aim it is to give "einen Beitrag zur Geschichte des Betrugs und der Verirrungen des menschlichen Geistes".<sup>15</sup> It is significant in this respect that the

<sup>14</sup> Frank W. Stokoe, German Influence in the English Romantic Period, 1788-1818 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), p. 172.

<sup>15</sup> Schiller, 5, p. 48.

prince is never allowed to speak directly himself, but that he is seen with the eyes of outsiders. In the first part of the novel, the story is told by the prince's close friend, Graf O, who is seen as having a positive influence on him. In the second part, when he becomes more and more trapped in the intricate intrigues of the Armenian, the Baron von F takes over, a person who is not at all capable of counselling him, and even has mistaken beliefs about the prince's closest friends. It becomes obvious that it was Schiller's intention to avoid an excessively emotional response in the reader; instead, he wanted to appeal to his faculty of analyzing the situation and of unraveling the intrigues.

The marvelous aspects of the novel, which find expressions in the scenes centering around the secret society and the Armenian, can be interpreted, with some justice, as belonging to the late eighteenth-century world. The Armenian, for instance, bears the same traits as the famous Cagliostro, a figure that occupied the interest of a great many people at that time. It was believed, even by important personalities, that Cagliostro had close relations with the Jesuits who tried to win political power by using magicians of this sort. Benno von Wiese points

out: Die Gestalt Cagliostros, dessen Züge im Armenier des 'Geistersehers' wiederkehren, zog die Phantasie des Jahrhunderts in ihren Bann. In allen Hauptstädten Europas fand er stets von neuem gläubige Anbeter und leidenschaftliche Gegner, um Ende seines bewegten Lebens hinter den Kerkermauern der Inquisition in Rom 1795 ruhmlos zu enden. In den Jahren 1785/86 erreichte das Cagliostro-Interesse durch den berühmten Halsbandprozess in Paris seinen Höhepunkt. In einem Brief Mirabeaus über Cagliostro und Lavater, der 1780 von Berlin ausging, heisst es, Cagliostro 'stehe mit einer Gesellschaft von Menschen in Verbindung, die durch ihn gewisse ihnen wichtige Ziele befördere', und es wird weiter behauptet,

dass er ein Werkzeug der Jesuiten sei, die durch solche Magien danach strebten, die 'Einbildungskraft der Grossen aufzuregen, ihren Geist zu verblenden, ihr Vertrauen zu erschleichen'.<sup>16</sup>

Although Schiller was certainly attracted by the mysterious and marvelous traits of a person like Cagliostro, he placed much more importance on the political intrigues. At the beginning of the novel he stresses that the following account is "ein politischer Vorfall",<sup>17</sup> and indeed, the novel reveals the shrewd psychological means by which the secret society, the Bucentauro tries to use the prince for its political aims. One of the manoeuvres of the Bucentauro is, for instance, to put three paintings into the hands of the prince, one of which represents a "Madonna", one an "Heloise", and one a "Venus". The prince, already very much under the influence of the society, buys the "Madonna". To strengthen their influence over the prince, the Bucentauro subsequently suggest that he visit a Catholic church. Upon entering, the prince sees a beautiful young Greek lady, lost in prayer, whose presence is naturally known by the Bucentauro. She is the exact likeness of the "Madonna", and, struck by her beauty and deep devotion, the prince falls madly in love with her.

Sie bemerkte mich nicht, Sie liess sich durch meine Dazwischenkunft nicht stören, so ganz war sie in ihrer Andacht vertieft. Sie betete zu ihrer Gottheit und ich betete zu ihr - Ja, ich betete sie an - Alle diese Bilder der Heiligen, diese Altäre, diese brennenden Kerzen hatten mich nicht daran erinnert jetzt zum erstenmal ergriff mich, als ob ich in einem Heiligtum wäre, Soll ich es Ihnen gestehen? Ich glaubte in diesem Augenblick felsenfest an den, den ihre schöne Hand umfasst hielt.<sup>18</sup>

16

Benno von Wiese, Friedrich Schiller (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963), p. 316.

17

Schiller, 5, p. 48.

18

Ibid., p. 133.

With this prearranged encounter, the Bucentauro have reached one of their major aims, the conversion of the Protestant prince to Catholicism. The prince, so it seems, will be entirely in their power. "Monk" Lewis, who knew Schiller's Geisterseher,<sup>19</sup> uses the same device of first making Ambrosio fall in love with the painting of a Madonna and then with an actual woman, the double, of the Madonna represented in the painting. It is Matilda in this case who puts the painting into Ambrosio's hands. In this way, she can gain influence over the monk before she even appears and make him the easy prey for her satanic purposes.

Both Schiller and Lewis stress the delusiveness of their female figures. However, Schiller's Greek lady is truly religious, whereas Matilda is the agent of the devil himself. Schiller's lady is the instrument of the Bucentauro, a society which has very real, political aims; Matilda, on the other hand, is part of a demonic irrational power which aims at the monk's eternal perdition. Schiller's interest is in a political intrigue while "Monk" Lewis shows satanic powers gaining control over man.

Despite the similarity of motifs, there are still great differences in the way in which they are used. It is more likely as Guthke has shown, that M. G. Lewis took this motif from C. B. E. Naubert's Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen (1773). In Ottbert and Der Fischer of this collection, Naubert describes the temptation of a monk by a woman disguised as a monk. Just as in Lewis' Monk, this woman is the instrument of a daemonic power and also appears as a Madonna. Guthke also makes it quite clear that this very motif was a very common one in German folk

legends.

It should thus be clear that the Geisterseher is concerned with different problems from those in which M. G. Lewis and Naubert are interested. In his novel, Schiller analyses dispassionately the gradual downfall of a young prince by the intrigues of the Bucentauro. The prince's internal state of mind, as well as the external processes are carefully dissected and both are seen as contributing to his destruction. The Geisterseher is therefore a psychological as well as a political study, giving ample room to philosophical and religious problems. It is not concerned at all with supernatural terror and horror. Not only are there no supernatural incidents in this novel, but the pseudo-supernatural manoeuvres of the Sicilian are revealed as cheap charlatanism which cannot shake the prince's beliefs. The real danger is seen as lying in his own character, his overconfident reason, his rigid education and his religious melancholy.

The three works of Goethe and Schiller discussed above are so different in contents, form and attitude that it is difficult to find general features for comparative purposes in them. With regard to the Trivialromane, whose "progenitors" they are held to be, three characteristics seem to be of major interest. These are:

1. the treatment of the Middle Ages;
2. the role of the marvelous and the supernatural;
3. the function of terror and horror.

In its use of the Middle Ages, Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen stands alone among the three works discussed. However, it has already been

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>21</sup> von Wiese, p. 328.

<sup>22</sup> See Varma, p. 32 and Marion Beaujean, Der Trivialroman in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts (Bonn: H. Bouvier u. Co. Verlag, 1969), p. 120.

pointed out that the mediaeval setting is not the outcome of an escapist fantasy: Goethe gives an authentic picture of the Middle Ages free from idealization, based on historical studies. Götz, the mediaeval knight, is also not an idealized and faultless person but rather a complex, realistic figure. The Middle Ages are never pseudo-reality, or an image of a subconsciously desired "Golden Age".

With regard to the role of the marvelous and supernatural, in none of the three works does the real supernatural play any role. Goethe's Götz is far too realistic and down-to-earth to give any room to supernatural phenomena. Adelheid, the daemonic female character, is not seen as an evil supernatural force breaking into the world of reality; instead, she personifies evil, which is only the other side of good in human beings, as Goethe sees it. Schiller's Räuber is equally free from supernatural occurrences. Irrational and subjective forces play a great part, but never supernatural forces. In Schiller's Geisterscher, the supernatural is only associated with the Sicilian, and is later unmasked as primitive charlatanism by the prince himself.

As for the function of terror and horror, the gloomy scene of the Fehme in Goethe's Götz is not used as a means of rousing terror in the reader: the secret tribunal, which sentences Adelheid to death, is part of sixteenth century reality. Karl Moor in Schiller's Räuber is not a figure of horror: he is a great but misguided character. In the Geisterscher, Schiller carefully prevents an emotional involvement of the reader: he makes use of suspense, but hardly of terror. The novel is not a horror story but the analyses of a political intrigue.

These three works naturally cannot be considered representative



of the entire Sturm und Drang movement. In the poetry of some members of the group, especially in ballads, the marvelous and the supernatural do play an important role. Yet as Roy Pascal points out:

It must be emphasized ... that settings of this kind, and the use of the Supernatural, are rare in the works of the Stürmer und Dränger. It is one of the extraordinary achievements of Herder in his essay on Shakespeare that he treats the supernatural elements of the plots, the witches in Macbeth and the ghost in Hamlet, in the same way as he does the blasted heath, and the midnight battlements, not as 'pleasures of the imagination' but as constituents of the real human scene. His, and Goethe's, love for folk-ballads did not lead them to revel in hallucinations, like Bürger, to whose Lenore Herder took a somewhat critical attitude. The folk-ballads Goethe collected and his own compositions, are essentially in this period, songs of human feeling and human relationship, like the König von Thule; ballads like Erlkönig and Der Zauberlehrling belong to the later periods - though, of course, for all their evocations of supernatural beings and weird or macabre situations these too are surely anchored in real experience.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, even when they do use the supernatural, it is not employed for the mere purpose of thrilling the reader.

Coleridge devotes a great part of the twenty-third chapter of his Biographia Literaria to the German drama. In his view it is "English in its origin, English in its materials, and English by re-adoption".<sup>24</sup> It is clear that by German drama he can only mean the works of those second-rate authors, such as Kotzebue, who were at that time flooding the stage with their trite and trivial productions. In 1794, on the other hand,<sup>25</sup> Coleridge expressed the greatest enthusiasm for Schiller's Räuber.

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<sup>23</sup> Pascal, p. 271.

<sup>24</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Biographia Literaria, 2 Vol., ed. J. Shawcross (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 2, p. 184.

<sup>25</sup> Mason, p. 57.

## V. "MONK" LEWIS AND ITS GERMAN SOURCES

Devendra P. Varma has pointed out that it was M. G. Lewis who<sup>1</sup> "was particularly attracted towards the School of 'Sturm und Drang'". Guthke, in his book Englische Vorromantik und deutscher Sturm und Drang, also comes to the conclusion that Lewis deliberately undertook to introduce Sturm und Drang ideas into English literature.<sup>2</sup> Referring to the Monk, A. W. Schlegel<sup>3</sup> states that it was "aus schlechtem deutschen zusammengeborgt und nachgeahmt," and he goes on to say: "die englischen Kunstrichter haben nicht ermangelt .... ihn als einen zögling of the wild German school anzusehen".<sup>3</sup> It seems obvious from these citations that Lewis' novel The Monk was a German import. It remains to be seen however, whether The Monk really is "the best embodiment of the German influence and its fusion",<sup>4</sup> and more specifically, whether Lewis, apart from his use of German motifs did indeed introduce fundamental Sturm und Drang ideas into English literature.

Apart from the subplot, which has hardly any relation to the main action of the novel, The Monk is the story of Ambrosio, the abbot of a Capuchin monastery in Madrid. At the beginning he is a young man in his prime, devout and austere. Admired for his powerful sermons and religious devotion, he is generally called the "Man of Holiness".<sup>5</sup> One evening,

<sup>1</sup> Varma, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Guthke, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Varma, p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Matthew G. Lewis, The Monk (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1959), p. 45.

while Ambrosio is taking a walk in the garden of the monastery, Rosario, a young novice to whom Ambrosio is particularly attached, approaches him and confesses that he is not Rosario, but a woman, Matilda. She tells him that she has fallen passionately in love with him and therefore has entered the monastery to be close to him. At first Ambrosio refuses to keep her in the monastery but then allows her a period of grace. Shortly after this incident, Ambrosio is bitten by a snake. The monks, seeing him near his death, call for Matilda-Rosario to assist him in his last hours. Matilda takes advantage of this situation by awakening Ambrosio's repressed lust and hidden desire. Struggling between passion and religious duty, he succumbs to Matilda's temptations. This is all the more easily achieved because she resembles the picture of a Madonna which Ambrosio treasures and adores. Afterwards she saves Ambrosio's life by sucking the snake's venom from Ambrosio's wound.

For a while Ambrosio finds satisfaction in the love of Matilda, but soon tiring of her, thinks of seducing the young, innocent Antonia. To achieve his aim he has to resort to black magic, and Matilda, familiar with various kinds of sorcery, assists him in this. One night, Ambrosio enters Antonia's bedroom, ready to seduce her. However, Antonia's mother suddenly appears, and Ambrosio murders her. Greatly shocked, Antonia falls ill. Ambrosio administers a sleeping potion to her and carries her into one of the subterranean vaults of the monastery to seduce her without interference. After he has satisfied his lust, he is discovered by Don Lorenzo di Medina, the lover of Antonia. Frightened by this discovery, Ambrosio kills Antonia only to be taken prisoner with Matilda, and sentenced to death by the Inquisition. While Ambrosio is awaiting

death, Matilda manages to make him sell his soul to the devil. Lucifer carries him out of the dungeon and flings him into a precipice where he dies miserably. Before that, however, Lucifer addresses him with these

words: Hark, Ambrosio, while I unveil your crimes! You have shed the blood of two innocents; Antonia and Elvira perished by your hand. That Antonia whom you violated, was your sister! that Elvira whom you murdered, gave you birth! Tremble; abandoned hypocrite! inhuman parricide! incestuous ravisher! tremble at the extent of your offences! And you it was who thought yourself proof against temptation, absolved from human frailties, and free from error and vice! Is pride then a virtue? Is inhumanity no fault? Know, vain man! that I long have ... watched the movement of your heart; I saw that you were virtuous from vanity, not principle, and I seized the fit moment of seduction. I observed your blind idolatry of the Madonna's picture. I bade a subordinate but crafty spirit assume a similar form, and you eagerly yielded to the blandishments by Matilda. Your pride was gratified by her flattery; Your lust only needed an opportunity to break forth; you ran into the snare blindly, and scrupled not to commit a crime, which you blamed on another with unfeeling severity. It was I who threw Matilda in your way; it was I who gave you entrance to Antonia's chamber; it was I who caused the dagger to be given you which pierced your sister's bosom; and it was I who warned Elvira in dreams of your designs upon her daughter and thus, by preventing you profiting by her sleep, compelled you to add rape as well as incest to the catalogue of your crimes.<sup>6</sup>

With this terrible revelation, it becomes obvious that Ambrosio, the "Man of Holiness", was not a victim of human worldly powers, but rather of irrational, supernatural forces. Step by step, helplessly and irresistibly, he was driven to his own destruction, caught in this devilish daemonic scheme, he was defenceless. There was no hope for him either, for as he sold his soul to the devil, he became truly "God-abandoned".<sup>7</sup>

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Ibid., p. 418.

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Ibid., p. 416.

It is easy to see how radically differently from the early Gothic writers M. G. Lewis views the world. There is no ordered universe and no divine justice anymore; instead, evil irrational powers and supernatural forces break into the world and make hope and atonement, redemption and mercy, impossible. In the face of such an incommensurable situation, reason and good sense must fail. Karl S. Guthke points out how even the author himself is unable to explain and interpret the events any more.

Der Erzähler tritt am Ende nicht mehr wie im Roman des 18. Jahrhunderts üblich, sinndeutend oder auch nur handlungsmässig abrundend hervor; auch er versagt, vor diesem Ungeheuerlichen, das alle Normen zerstört, nach denen Walpole, Radcliffe und ihre Nachahmer sich richteten. Dieses Verschwinden des Erzählers ist symptomatisch für die Abkehr von der Tradition des "Gothic novel". Denn dort war das geschlossene Weltbild darstellerisch formal in der Weise bewältigt, dass der Erzähler aus der epischen Allwissenheit mit kurzen Hinweisen einen Ausblick auf die weitere Lebensgeschichte seines Helden vermittelt.<sup>8</sup>

It may be concluded that with Lewis' Monk the Gothic novel took an entirely new direction. A new element was introduced, the threat of frail and helpless man by irrational, inhuman and evil powers. The rational basis which had never been questioned by the early Gothic novelists is now entirely abandoned. Indeed, The Monk is a novel so markedly different in purpose, outlook and achievement from its predecessors, that there seems to be hardly any basis for establishing a connection with Walpole and Ann Radcliffe. Edith Birkhead rightly states:

It is true that in one of his letters Lewis asserts that he was induced to go on with his romance, The Monk, by reading The Mysteries of Udolpho, 'one of the most interesting books that has (sic) ever been written', and that he was struck by the resemblance of his own character to that of Montoni but his literary debt to Mrs. Radcliffe is

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comparatively insignificant.

Some critics have pointed at French sources which they think influenced Lewis. Mario Praz, for instance, suspects that J. Cazotte's Le Diable Amoureux was the pattern for Matilda in The Monk; from this "fatal woman", he says:

A line of tradition may be traced .... In the pedigree one may say that Lewis' Matilda is at the head of the line: she develops on the one side, into Velleda (Chateaubriand) and Salambo (Flaubert), and on the other, into Carmen (Merimée), Cécily (Sue) and Conchita (Pierre Louys).<sup>10</sup>

However, as Guthke states, the story of Le Diable Amoureux has only vague similarities to The Monk:

Obwohl die Übereinstimmungen mit dieser Erzählung von einem Seemann, dessen Geliebte sich als Teufelin herausstellt, viel zu vage sind und obwohl der sonst in seinen Quellenangaben freimütige Lewis selbst die Kenntnis des "Diable Amoureux" energisch in Abrede gestellt hat, dauert es bis 1953, bis der Nachweis erbracht werden konnte, dass es sich bei der Quellenannahme um einen peinlichen Irrtum handelt.<sup>11</sup>

Besides this, Lewis used various other German sources, some of which he discloses himself. He states in his novel that the "Bleeding Nun" episode "is a tradition still credited in many parts of Germany";<sup>12</sup>

9  
Edith Birkhead, The Tale of Terror: A Study of the Gothic Romance (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), p. 64.


10  
Mario Praz, The Romantic Agony, trans. Angus Davidson (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 191.

11  
Karl S. Guthke, "Die Herkunft des weltliterarischen Typus der 'Femme Fatale' aus der deutschen Volkssage", Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift Band 6 der neuen Folge (1956), p. 295.


12  
Lewis, p. 32.

that "the fragment of 'The Water-King', may be found in 'Herder's Volk-Lieder" (sic) and that "The Origin of the Erl-King is by Goethe (sic),<sup>14</sup> Author of Werter (sic)".

Contrary to Lewis' statement the "Bleeding Nun" episode must have been taken out of J. K. August Musaus' Volksmärchen der Deutschen, for as Guthke points out, the motif as such cannot be derived from the original folk-legend. The ballads mentioned by Lewis are indeed translations from Goethe and Herder. In addition to them, Lewis used the theme of the "Wandering Jew", which is quite common in German literature. The episode in Strassburg, which as some critics say, was influenced by Smollett's Ferdinand, Count Fathom (Chapter XX - XXI), can be attributed to L. Flammenberg's Geisterbanner (1791). Guthke says:

 Ein ganz ähnlicher Überfall in L. Flammenberg's Geisterbanner, den Lewis kannte, enthält fast alle Motive: den Ort (Schwarzwald, eine Holzfällerhütte) Komplotte unter Postilionen, Wirten und Räubern, das Blut in Bett, die Beunruhigung durch die Waffen, der Gastgeber, das gemeinsame Abendessen, getrübt<sup>16</sup> durch Verdacht, und die Rettung durch einen Freund.

Guthke and Varma both refer to another German source, Veit Weber's "Teufelsbeschwörung" from Sagen der Vorzeit. Varma states:

 The catastrophe of the Monk Ambrosio is almost word for word from a tale in Veit Weber's Sagen der Vorzeit, called Die Teufel's Beschwörung (sic).<sup>17</sup>

13

Ibid., p. 434.

14

Ibid.

15

Guthke, Englische Vorromantik ..., p. 34.

16

Ibid., p. 35.

17

Varma, p. 150.

All these sources could be proven with great accuracy to have been taken from German literature known to Lewis. In addition, other motifs, such as the criminal monk, and the devil's pact, can with some justice, also be attributed to German folk-legends and the Trivialroman at the end of the eighteenth century. Thus, the overwhelming majority of Lewis' sources are derived from either collections of folk-legends or the popular Trivialroman.

The "criminal monk" motif is also used sometimes by Sturm und Drang writers. For example, F. M. Klinger in his novel Faust, describes a hypocritical monk, who is generally held to be a holy man. However, Klinger's use of the "criminal monk" was directed towards a typical Stürmer und Dränger objective: to offer opposition to the life of monasticism as one hampering and repressing man's vital energies. The "criminal monk" motif is only one aspect of the Sturm und Drang attack on conventional morality which they exposed in almost all their works, but which never found such full expression in Lewis' novels.

It is fair to say, then, that while some motifs used by Lewis do indeed appear in Sturm und Drang literature, they are used for entirely different aims and actually cannot be seen as introducing Sturm und Drang ideas into English literature. The material alone is an inadequate basis for establishing literary interrelationships. It must be concluded that Lewis, rather than adopting Sturm und Drang ideas, was inspired and influenced by the German Trivialroman which in outlook, expression and themes used, is much closer to his works.



VI. THE GERMAN TRIVIALROMAN, 1780-1800

Although it is clear that a study of Lewis' sources establishes the fact of his indebtedness to German literature, specifically to the folk-legends and the Trivialroman, it does not necessarily follow that the works Lewis used are typical examples of the German popular novel. An examination of all of Lewis' sources shows a very deliberate choice of themes and motifs. He is always interested in supernatural forces, in delusive figures, and in daemonic evil powers shaking the world of reality. Wherever he could find such themes and motifs, he picked them up and adopted them to his own purposes. As Guthke says:

Ein Rückblick auf die Gesamtheit des Lewisschen nicht originalen Werks aus dem Deutschen lässt in dem überwiegenden und vor allem in dem bedeutendsten Teil der Übertragungen und Bearbeitungen ein bewusstes Auswahlprinzip erkennen ... Dass Lewis Interesse ganz allgemein auf das Übernatürliche als konstituierendes Element des poetischen Schicksalsraums richtete, wird exemplarisch deutlich, wenn man sich erinnert, dass er ... gerade die Szenen zur Verwendung in eigenen Werken auswählte in denen das Irrationale und Überweltliche in den Lebensraum eingreift.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, from Lewis' treatment of German sources, no conclusion should be drawn about these sources themselves.

It is necessary in this context, to establish the basic features of the Trivialroman. Marion Beaujean in Der Trivialroman in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts traces the development of the Ritter-, Räuber- and Schauerromane from their origins to the end of the eighteenth century, and comes to conclusions basically different from those held by earlier critics. She refutes the common opinion that

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<sup>1</sup>  
Guthke, p. 219.

these novels were based on Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen and Schiller's Räuber and Geisterseher:

Bis in die neueste Literaturgeschichte halt sich hartnackige Behauptung, sie (die Ritterromane) seien auf die unmittelbare Nachahmung des Götz zurückzuführen, so wie die Räuberromane in den 'Räubern', die Geisterromane im 'Geisterseher' ihre Vorbilder hätten. Müller-Frauenreuth hat diese These eingeführt.<sup>2</sup>

Beaujean also makes clear that Goethe and Schiller did not initiate these three different types of fiction:

Die überragenden Erscheinungen (Goethe und Schiller) ... machten nur durch ihr Beispiel den noch zaghaften Mut, öffentlich mit diesen Motiven des Rationalismus hervorzutreten: Der Motivschatz selbst aber, mit dem sie operieren, geht auf die viel ältere literarische Überlieferung zurück, ist noch Eigentum der Nation, bevor Götz erscheint.<sup>3</sup>

Marion Beaujean therefore concludes that the German Trivialroman was based on the baroque novel of the seventeenth century, the "heroisch-galante Roman" and the Contes de Fées:

Nur zu gerne bemächtigten sich die Autoren der so rehabilitierten Stoffe; denn diese waren mit ihrer bunten Fülle geeignet endlich die Vorherrschaft des moralisch-didaktischen Umweltsromans zu brechen.<sup>4</sup>

In what way do the Ritter-, Räuber- und Schauerromane differ from the Gothic novel? Before answering this question, it must be emphasized that these three genres cannot be divided, for the motifs of each group mingle so freely with the others that it becomes impossible to differentiate among them.

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Beaujean, p. 120.

3

Ibid., p. 121.

4

Ibid. See also Otto Rommel, "Rationalistische Dämonie", Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift, 17 (1939), p. 194.

Instead of using the term Ritter-, Räuber- und Schauerromane, both Beaujean and Rommel exchange them for terms expressing more appropriately similar underlying value-systems rather than similar motifs alone. It seems more meaningful to differentiate between Bundesromane, Geisterromane and Volksmärchen or Volkssage, all of which express different views of the world and value-systems. All of these types give room to the marvelous in one way or another: it enters either by a secret society, by rogues and adventurers, or by apparitions of ghosts and the supernatural.

Looking at the Trivialromane as a whole, one finds that some of them deal with the "real supernatural", with real ghosts, whereas others explain all seemingly supernatural events as Mrs. Radcliffe did in her Gothic novels. The "real supernatural" and real ghosts find expression in most of the Volksmärchen, the traditional folk-legends, and all the novels based on them. Most of the Geisterromane give equal importance to the "real supernatural". In Bundesromane however, all those novels dealing with secret societies, do not make use of the "real supernatural" at all. It is very surprising to see that just those novels which indeed do not deal with the "real supernatural" are in effect the most irrational ones. As Otto Rommel states, they aim at "Erschütterung des naiven Sicherheitsgefühls rationalistischer Selbstzufriedenheit".<sup>5</sup>

The Geisterromane which boldly introduce ghosts and revenants are on the other hand basically rational, which leads Rommel to discuss the term "Rationalistische Dämonie". In his study he investigates all of the Geisterromane which appeared in the last decade of the eighteenth century and concludes that:

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<sup>5</sup>  
Rommel, p. 189.

Sie sind echte Produkte des Rationalismus. Ihr Mittelalter ist, im Grunde genommen, ein Wunschtraum vom Kraftvollen - naturhaften Leben, ihre Geister sind humane Tugendlehrer und das Wunder ist ein kasuistisches Spiel mit 'Blendungen', das seine Erklärung in der Lehre von den möglichen Welten findet, gegenüber denen die wirkliche sich zuletzt mit Selbstverständlichkeit behauptet. ... Auf Belehren, Bessern und Rühren läuft alles hinaus. Sie vertiefen das Leben nicht, sondern machen es allzu einfach. Während in den Geistergeschichten der Romantik alles Traum und Ahnung ist, ist in den rationalistischen Geistergeschichten alles Vertrag, Veranstaltung und Berechnung.<sup>6</sup>

It appears therefore that the German Geisterromane, such as the novels written by Spiess and Wachter, are the outcome of the same kind of rational thinking that characterized the English Gothic fiction from Walpole to Radcliffe. In this respect, it is also significant that the sensuousness of which they are accused is not based on fact. Rommel emphasizes that they are all too virtuous and aim at showing the final triumph of the good over evil:

Es muss übrigens festgestellt werden, dass der Vorwurf der Laszivität, der manchmal gegen die Geisterromane von Spiess und dergleichen erhoben wird, nicht zutrifft. Diese Romane sind im Gegenteil übertugendhaft, und die Verführungskünste, der 'Buhlerinnen', die manchmal - vom Teufel aus bösem vom Schutzgeist aus pädagogischer Absicht - in Bewegung gesetzt werden, muten sehr theoretisch an.<sup>7</sup>

It is also important to note that, just these Geisterromane were produced in quantity and widely read by the members of bourgeois society, the reason for this being perhaps, that these works expressed the kind of rationalistic attitude which had initially brought about their social and economic emancipation. Giving up these ideals would

<sup>6</sup>  
Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>7</sup>  
Ibid., p. 196.

mean endangering their social prestige in society.

<sup>8</sup> The Volksmärchen and Volkssagen collected by Musäus and Naubert were the result of the new interest in the past and express their author's fascination with all the marvelous and mysterious elements of traditional folklore. Never do these authors attempt to give explanations for ghosts and other supernatural occurrences. It is here that the truly marvelous enters into fiction. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Romantics, especially Tieck, derived many of their motifs and inspirations from these Märchen and Legenden. However, Beaujean points out that even in Naubert's Volksmärchen the rationalistic traits outweigh the romantic ones:

Das zeigt sich nicht nur in einem skeptisch-nüchternen Vortrag und im novellistischen Stil, der sich häufig des Rahmens bedient sondern vor allem in den zugrundeliegenden Anschauungsformen: Es kommt ihr durchaus auf eine vernunftmässige Lebensmeisterung an, während der Einbruch des Irrealen Verwirrung, wenn nicht gar Verderben stiftet. <sup>9</sup>

If we remember that "Monk" Lewis derived many of his motifs from Musäus and Naubert, it becomes even clearer that Lewis made a very deliberate choice as to what he adopted for his own works from German literature. He chose exactly those sources which embody the truly marvelous, mysterious and supernatural. It must be stressed, however, that they only formed part of the popular fiction and cannot be seen as representing the whole.

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J. K. A. Musäus' Volksmärchen der Deutschen (Gotha, 1782-87) and B. Naubert's Neue Volksmärchen der Deutschen (Leipzig, 1789-93) are both cited in Beaujean, p. 151.

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Ibid., pp. 151-152.

The Bundesromane which centre around secret societies, a new theme in the Trivialroman, which seems to be typically German and found hardly any expression in English fiction, does not contain generally supernatural elements. The authors of this type of novel very often exhibited an open, unshamed sensualism. A favourite theme of the Bundesromane is the struggle of the hero, usually a young man, between two opposing powers, between two different secret societies, one good and one evil, or between two different orders of knights.<sup>10</sup> The individual in these works is threatened and influenced by powerful organizations, very often wrapped in mystery, whose objectives he cannot comprehend. The hero is not able to cope with life and either succumbs entirely to lust and passion or escapes into an unreal world which is equally empty and meaningless. Karl Grosse's Der Genius translated into English with the title Horrid Mysteries, is one example of this kind.

Among the books of Jane Austen's Northanger Novels, Der Genius or Horrid Mysteries is the only one which is a direct translation from the German. As Michael Sadleir states:

The Northanger Novels fall into three divisions, of which one, is itself subdivisible. Clermont, by Regina Maria Roche, first published in 1798, is the rhapsodical sensibility romance in its finest form. The Castle of Wolfenbach, The Mysterious Warning, The Orphan of the Rhine, and The Midnight Bell, are terror-novels that pretend - for fashion's sake - to be translations from the German, but are in fact British-made goods in German fancy dress. The Necromancer is of the same class, but with a difference: it probably represents the manipulation of genuine German material to create something to English taste, bearing the same relation to its Teutonic original that the englische Sportskleidung which filled

One author was Veit Weber who wrote Die Brüder des Bundes für Freiheit und Recht, as quoted in Beaujean, p. 126.

the Berlin shops in the years before the war, had to the actual shooting and hunting kit worn by English sportsmen - that is to say, the cloth came from Bradford, but the ensemble was such as Savile Row had never dreamed of. Horrid Mysteries remains - a book not only quite distinct in nature and origin from its fellows, but on a different and higher plane of intrinsic importance and interest. It pretends to be an autobiography; and if it is luridly written in its German original, it has been rendered still more sensational by the mingled guile and incompetence of its translator. <sup>11</sup>

Horrid Mysteries attracted and fascinated the general public <sup>12</sup> as well as important contemporary writers such as Peacock in England and Tieck in Germany. Tieck carried his admiration for Grosse even so far as to place him beside Goethe. In a letter to his friend Wackenroder, Tieck states:

Unterlass ja nicht, den zweiten Teil des 'Genius' zu lesen, er ist schöner als der erste. Ich habe Dir dieses Buch schon und den Tasso empfohlen, ich will Dir jetzt noch ein anderes mehr als Tasso und beinahe mehr als den Genius empfehlen. <sup>13</sup>

In an earlier letter to Wackenroder, he had expressed his admiration in the following enthusiastic terms:

Wenn Du recht glücklich sein willst auf mehrere Stunden, so lies den zweiten Teil vom 'Genius', der diese Ostermesse herausgekommen ist, er hat mich äusserst glücklich gemacht, es ist fast gar nichts Wunderbares darin, aber ich habe mich so

<sup>11</sup>

Michael Sadleir, The Northanger Novels: A Footnote to Jane Austen, (Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 10.

<sup>12</sup>

Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>13</sup>

This passage is quoted by James Trainer, Ludwig Tieck: From Gothic to Romantic (London: Mouton and Co., 1964), p. 32.

ganz und gar darin wiedergefunden, alle meine Lieblingsideen so schön ausgeführt, dass ich dem Verfasser ausserordentlich gut geworden bin: lies ihn nächstens und besonders aufmerksam die Szene bei dem Einsiedler, dies ist nach meiner Meinung das Schönste, der Triumph des Verfassers: <sup>14</sup>

In Der Genius, a secret society is trying to ensnare a young, immature man by mysterious and sensuous means. He swears the oath and takes part in the society's gatherings without comprehending the aims of its members. He is allowed to satisfy his sexual drives and is even presented with a beautiful young girl. However, soon he is forced to see that the secret society interferes with his personal life and destroys his happiness and peace. His beloved wife dies under mysterious circumstances, and his best friend deserts him. Finally, a nightly apparition, pretending to be his "Genius" confuses him entirely and almost forces him to lose his senses. Although he still cannot comprehend the workings of the society; he suspects them to aim at world revolution, the abolition of the monarchy, and control over the world. He flees from the society and tries to find peace in solitude. For a while he lives together with a hermit and finds great enjoyment in conversing with him. However, this wise man convinces him that he is too young and immature for a contemplative life of this kind, and that he should go back into the world, accept his fate and lead an active life, not one of boredom and emptiness.

The hero accepts the hermit's advice and returns with the intention to destroy the secret society which he now believes to be deceitful and evil. However, he fails. Only when he accidentally kills the "Genius"



during a duel and discovers that he is his faithful servant, does he suddenly find the explanation for all the mysterious occurrences which had confused and disgusted him so much. He understands now that the real aims of the secret society had been to lead him into a higher ideal world of harmony and peace. Chastened by his previous experiences and full of remorse, he re-enters the society and promises to be faithful forever to their aims. At the end of the fourth chapter of Vol. II, Book II Grosse describes this return in the following way:

I beheld my brethren celebrating my return with rapture ... The members seated themselves on the exalted chairs; the reverend old man embraced me, and all my brethren advanced to give me the fraternal kiss ... Aweful, immortal words were uttered; and on raising our looks from the ground, a curtain was drawn. Unspeakable mystic rites commenced; celestial sounds struck our ears with rapture; heavenly visions astonished our gazing eyes, all presensions were accomplished, and the boldest hopes silenced by reality.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the hero finds hope in the possibility of a higher, better world, which the secret society seems to be offering him. He is now also ready to accept whatever fate has in store for him. This fatalistic attitude is expressed already in the first chapter of the book, where Grosse

states: The invisible web, which encompassed my fate, is now, perhaps torn asunder; and, perhaps, not. While I fancy to be free, the fetters which I imagine to have shaken off, are perhaps, forged stronger, and may soon enthrall me again. Be this as it may, I will meet futurity with a cheerful confidence; and I expand my hands peacefully towards you, ye fields of higher knowledge and experience! no matter whether you be strewn with roses of sweet tranquility, or the thorns of sorrow. I suffer myself, impelled by stern necessity, and too weak for resistance, to be hurried onward,

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K. F. A. Grosse, Horrid Mysteries, a story translated from the German of the Marquis of Grosse by Peter Will (London: The Folio Press, 1968), p. 296.

without anxiety, by a torrent which is limited and directed by a Superior Power.<sup>16</sup>

The marvelous and mysterious is never really explained in this book. Although the hero finally understands the outward manoeuvres of the society, it is never made entirely clear whether the society is evil or good or what its true objectives are. The end of the book, suggesting a prospect for a harmonious world transcending the world of reality and the actions of the secret society itself, shows a kind of mysticism which can be interpreted perhaps as the attempt to replace the rationalistic belief with a belief giving room to mystery and wonder. It is possible that it was just this that attracted Tieck to this novel. It is well-known, moreover, that many young Romantics, dissatisfied and unfulfilled with the optimistic secular philosophy of the Age of Reason, converted to Catholicism.

... fast alle typischen jungen Männer der deutschen romantischen Generation (wurden) irgendwann ... vom Heimweh nach der alten orthodoxen christlichen Tradition befallen und ... einige unter ihnen (wurden) in der Tat katholisch.<sup>17</sup>

Referring to Horrid Mysteries, Michael Sadleir calls it "a strange wild work, dealing unashamedly in the supernatural, written with a lurid, if inconsequent power".<sup>18</sup> Wildness as well as fleshiness are indeed features of this book. However, there are no truly supernatural incidents, for as previously indicated, the hero finally understands all seemingly supernatural phenomena, such as the apparition of the "Genius" as having natural causes. That some mystery and wonder remains, resulting from

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<sup>16</sup>

Ibid., p. 3

<sup>17</sup>

Mason, p. 50.

<sup>18</sup>

Sadleir, p. 18.

the mystic aims of the society, does not disprove this fact. The style of the book and the descriptions of enraptured love-making, are almost unbearable in their nauseous affectedness and their stilted pompousness, and must appear ridiculous and absurd to the modern reader.

This short survey of the Trivialroman in Germany indicates, first of all, that generalizations with regard to its features and values can be misleading. Besides novels showing evil forces, or powerful organizations breaking into the world of reality and shaking man's rationalistic beliefs, there are those novels, the Geisterromane, which are based on the conventional rationalistic principles and not very different from those of the Gothic novelists in England. Secondly, sensuousness and wildness are also not a general characteristic of the entire Trivialroman. Thirdly, those elements of German fiction, the daemonic and irrational, for which Lewis had a strong predilection, should not be interpreted as representative of the entire Trivialroman. The Sturm und Drang movement had hardly any influence on the novelists of the last decade of the eighteenth century. They possibly found their inspiration in the much earlier baroque novel and the French Contes de Fées.

## VII. GOTHIC THEMES IN THE GERMAN ROMANTIC NOVEL

Many critics consider the Gothic movement as a preparation for the Romantic novel. Robert D. Hume, for instance, states in his article "Gothic Versus Romantic: A Revaluation of the Gothic Novel", that the Gothic novel was "part of the general movement away from neoclassicism and towards romanticism".<sup>1</sup> The analysis undertaken in this paper, however, has shown that generally this viewpoint is not valid. In the German Trivialroman at the end of the eighteenth-century, and even more strikingly so in the English Gothic novel, there are only very rare indications of romantic attitudes and ideas. The majority of these novelists, whether German or English, are still rooted in eighteenth-century thinking.

In spite of this fact, however, it is clear that certain themes and motifs used by horror novelists did attract and fascinate some of the Romantic writers. Novelists such as Johann Ludwig Tieck and E. T. A. Hoffmann derived a great deal of their inspiration from the Gothic novel and other horror stories. However, they refined and transformed their material in such a way as to give it new depth and meaning. Placed in different framework and adapted to different aims, this material could become an effective expression of the Romantic imagination. This adaptation can be seen quite impressively in Tieck's youthful writings and in E. T. A. Hoffmann's Die Elixiere des Teufels, which is partly based on M. G. Lewis' The Monk. These writers appear to be of particular interest with regard to the literary relationship between England and Germany, since they both were inspired in various ways by English sources.

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<sup>1</sup> Robert D. Hume, "Gothic Versus Romantic: A Revaluation of the Gothic Novel", PMLA 84, No. 2 (1969), p. 288.

Tieck's fascination for German horror stories is a well-known fact. His great admiration for Der Genius by Grosse is one sign of this fact, and while he subsequently considered novels of this kind mere trash, he was certainly influenced and attracted by them. In his introduction to Peter Leberecht (1795), he pokes fun at all the contemporary German Trivialromane.

Riegen, Zwerge, Gespenster, Hexen, etwas Mord und Totschlag, Mondschein und Sonnenuntergang, dies mit Liebe und Empfindsamkeit versüsslicht, um es glatter hinunterzubringen, sind ungefähr die Ingredienzen, aus denen das ganze Heer der neuesten Erzählungen vom Petermännchen bis zur Burg Otranto vom Genius bis zum Rechelkrämer besteht. Der Marquis von Grosse hat dem Geschmack aller Lesegesellschaften eine andere Richtung gegeben, aber sie haben sich zugleich an seinem spanischen Wind den Magen verdorben.<sup>2</sup>

That Tieck knew and read Ann Radcliffe's novels can also be proven. James Trainer gives evidence for this when he states that Tieck had in his possession various novels by Ann Radcliffe.<sup>3</sup> That he also read them carefully becomes obvious in a passage of one of his tales called Das Zauberschloss, where he enumerates all of Mrs. Radcliffe's favourite devices and views them in an amusing and gently ironic way.

Was ich mir das immer gewünscht habe, ein solches Sommerhaus zu bewohnen, wo es etwas unheimlich zugeht, wo einem all die guten und schlechten Romane der Miss Radcliffe in jeder dunklen Stube, in einer Buchenlaube oder in einem unterirdischen Gang beifallen! Statt dass man sonst fragt: sind die Schwalben schon eingekehrt? ist der Storch in sein altes Nest wieder gekommen? erkundigt man sich nun: Geht es heuer wieder um? Geraten die Schauer in diesem Herbst gut? Was macht Ihr lieber guter Spak? Lasst sich das graue Ännchen wieder sehen .... mein Stübchen muss recht

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Johann Ludwig Tieck, Werke in vier Bänden, ed. Marianne Thalmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), 1, p. 75.

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Trainer, p. 34.

einsam liegen. Abends beim Lampenschein lieset uns dann Manfred etwas recht Grauerliches, wir alle entsetzen uns, keiner will zu Bett gehen, endlich nimmt man mit Herzklopfen Abschied und ich sitze allein da, und fahre vor meinem eigenen Schatten zurück und wage nicht das Licht zu putzen oder auszulöschen. Nun hört man's auf dem Gange schleichen, die Bäume rauschen so sonderbar, es schlägt dumpf zwölf in der Ferne - ...<sup>4</sup>

Although Tieck thus ridicules Radcliffe's devices, he betrays his attention for them as well. It is not difficult to show also, that he himself uses those very elements - the moonshine, glimmering candlelight, distant sounds and shadowy objects. Even Radcliffe's favorite device, the description of panorama, appears in Tieck's works. In his novel, Geschichte des Herrn William Lovell, for instance, he describes just such a panoramic view of scenery as often appears in Mrs. Radcliffe's The Mysteries of Udolpho. Like Mrs. Radcliffe's Emily, the hero William undertakes a journey through the Alps. Standing on top of a mountain, he is struck by the beautiful view:

Oben auf dem Berge gab uns die Natur einen wunderbaren Anblick. Wie ein Chaos lag die Gegend, so weit wir sie erkennen konnten, vor uns, ein dichter Nebel hatte sich um die Berge gewickelt, und durch die Täler schlich ein finstrier Dampf; Wolken und Felsen, die das Auge nicht voneinander unterscheiden konnte standen in verworrenen Haufen durcheinander; ein finstrier Himmel brütete über den grauen ineinanderfließenden Gestalten. Jetzt brach vom Morgen her durch die dämmernde Verwirrung ein schräger, roter Strahl, hundertfarbige Scheine zuckten durch die Nebel und flimmerten in mannigfaltigen Regenbogen, die Berge erhielten Umrisse und wie die Feuerkugeln standen ihre Gipfel über dem sinkenden Nebel.<sup>5</sup>

This description of a mountainous landscape veiled in morning mist, vaguely seen rocks, trees and sky, and then the first

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Tieck, 3, p. 557.

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Ibid., p. 320.

rays of the sun breaking through the mist, are indeed reminiscent of the description given in the first part of The Mysteries of Udolpho. The similarities, moreover, go even further, for following this passage in Tieck's novel is the appearance of robbers who had hidden in the dark forests. Ann Radcliffe's banditti, whom she took from Salvator Rosa's paintings, do just this:

This was such a scene as Salvator would have chosen, had he then existed for his canvas. St. Aubert, impressed by the romantic character of the place, almost expected to see banditti start from behind some projecting rock.<sup>6</sup>

H. A. Korff points out some other motifs used by Tieck which equally recall Ann Radcliffe. Referring to Tieck's drama Karl von Berneck he mentions: ... die von Gespensterglauben umwobene alte Ritterburg auf hohen Fels, die weither dunklen Wälder ringsherum, vor allem aber das atmosphärische Leben dieser Landschaft.<sup>7</sup>

It must be stressed, however, that the function of atmosphere and nature in Tieck's works is fundamentally different from that in Ann Radcliffe's. For her, nature and atmosphere are a means of arousing the reader's imagination and of preparing him for terrible incidents. In Tieck, the mountains, rocks and dark forests are in themselves threatening and daemonic. They are associated with anxiety, with something that is terrible just because it cannot be grasped and yet is inescapable. In his collection of Märchen, Phantasien, this can be seen most clearly. In Runenberg, the hero, Christian, looks with strange fear into the

<sup>6</sup>  
Radcliffe, p. 30.

<sup>7</sup>  
H. A. Korff, Geist der Goethezeit: Versuch einer ideellen Entwicklung der klassisch-romantischen Literaturgeschichte (Leipzig: Kochler und Amelang, 1955), 3, p. 462.

forest and expresses his feelings, which he cannot explain, in the following way:

Der Abend sei so dunkel; die grünen Schatten  
des Waldes so traurig, der Bach spreche in  
lauter Klagen, die Wolken des Himmels zögen  
seine Sehnsucht; jenseit den Bergen hinüber.<sup>8</sup>

Nature around him is personified, it speaks to him, yet remains strange and mysterious, and fills him with a longing he cannot explain. With a magnetic force which he cannot resist, the "Runenberg" lures him towards it.

Seine Angst nahm zu, in dem er sich dem Gebirge näherte, die fernen Ruinen wurden schon sichtbar, und traten nach und nach kenntlich hervor, viele Bergspitzen hoben sich abgerundet aus dem blauen Nebel. Seine Schritte wurden zaghaft, er blieb oft stehen und wunderte sich über seine Furcht; über die Schauer, die ihm mit jedem Schritt gedrängter nahe kamen. "Ich kenne dich Wahnsinn Wohl" rief er aus "und dein gefährliches Locken, aber ich will Dir männlich widerstehen!.... Sehe ich nicht schon Wälder wie schwarze Haare vor mir? Schauen nicht aus dem Bache die blitzenden Augen nach mir her? Schreiten die grossen Glieder nicht aus den Bergen auf mich zu?"<sup>9</sup>

The landscape described here is a landscape of the soul. Christian's inner emotions are fused with the external world. His anxieties, his fear, his feeling of being threatened, are made visible and active in nature.

At the same time, nature becomes estranged from the world of reality. Its mysteries and wonder, its dark powers can never be fully grasped. The reader is confronted with a world he never saw before, a world which is radically different from the common world of experience. There are mountains that may turn into a giant, whose enormous limbs come closer and closer towards us. The mountain forests appear like black hair

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Tieck, 1, p. 63.

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Ibid., p. 72.



covering the giant's limbs, and little rivulets suddenly become sparkling, flashing eyes staring at us. Referring to Tieck's treatment of nature, Korff points out:

In der stummen Natur selbst liegt das Unheimliche, in ihren stummen Gebirgen, ihren schweigenden Wäldern, ihrer Einsamkeit und Menschenferne. Und nicht die greifbaren Gefahren, sondern gerade die ungreifbaren sind das Unheimliche ihrer fremdes Grösse. Das hat Tieck nirgends besser als im Runenberg geschildert.<sup>10</sup>

It is also not only the more gloomy and austere aspects of nature which are thus seen as uncanny and threatening. Very often it is the very beauty of nature which arouses in the reader a strange feeling of being endangered. The idyll, Waldeinsamkeit, described in Der blonde Eckbert, is only superficially a paradisaical spot which is safe, beautiful, and peaceful. Underneath, the reader senses something fearsome, dark and powerful, which may break forth at any moment. It is clear from these few examples already, that Tieck's description of nature do more than just arouse terror. The world created in his novels and especially in his Märchen, is one never seen or described before. It is seen subjectively and becomes an image for Tieck's own feelings. Nature, too, is not only full of mystery, but is in itself daemonic and threatening.

In his study devoted to the comparison between Hoffmann's Die Elixiere des Teufels and Lewis' The Monk, Koziol has pointed out that there are indeed a great number of motifs and themes which the two authors have in common. The similarities are so striking that there is no doubt that Hoffmann knew The Monk extremely well, and used much of the material he found in it for his own purposes. In both novels, a monk is the

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Korff, p. 476.

principal hero, who, moreover, is celebrated for his eloquent preaching and who is generally considered a holy man. In both cases the monk is very fond of a painting; it represents a "Madonna" in Lewis, and the "Heilige Rosalia" in Hoffmann. Later on each monk falls in love with a woman bearing the same traits. In both novels, a sensuous daemonic woman (in Hoffmann it is "Euphemia") arouses the monk's repressed lust and tempts him towards evil. Koziol enumerates various other examples, some of which even show likeness of vocabulary and language.<sup>11</sup>

What Koziol does not say is the fact that Lewis' book is also directly mentioned in Hoffmann's text itself. Aurelia, in her letter to the prioress of the convent, tells us that she found it in her brother's

room: In meines Bruders Zimmer sah ich ein fremdes Buch  
auf dem Tisch liegen. Ich schlug es auf, es war  
ein aus dem Englischen übersetzter Roman: Der  
Mönch!<sup>12</sup>

A closer examination of the novel will reveal however, that despite obvious similarities, Hoffmann's Die Elixiere des Teufels is miles apart from Lewis' The Monk:

First of all it is significant to note that Hoffmann's novel takes the form of a confession similar to that of St. Augustine. The monk Medardus himself reviews his past life from a mature and serene point of view. He is a man who went through hell and who is purified by this experience. He has learned from his mistakes and always tries to view himself objectively. His own soul is the centre of interest and the

<sup>11</sup>

H. Koziol, "E. T. A. Hoffmann's 'Die Elixiere des Teufels' und M. G. Lewis' 'The Monk'", Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift 26 (1938), p. 167.

<sup>12</sup>

E. T. A. Hoffmann, Die Elixiere des Teufels und Lebensansichten des Katers Murr (München: Winkler Verlag, 1964), p. 198.

many terrible crimes he commits are not told for sensational purposes, but are a means of revealing the truth about his own person. It is Medardus' inability to see himself as he is, that forces him to go on and on, changing from one role into another, always fleeing from himself. Only after he finally admits his guilt, does he regain his identity. The main action of the story is indicated "by a plunge into the depths"<sup>13</sup> according to Kenneth Negus. When Medardus unintentionally pushes his half-brother Viktorin over a precipice and henceforth changes his identity with that of the murderous Viktorin, Negus further points out:

Previously to this there have been strong symptoms for Medardus' potential sinfulness, but it is through this event that the potentiality is activated. A hollow voice - that of the man in the abyss - speaks out of the depths of Medardus' alter ego, and now the whole monstrous burden of his ancestor's guilt wells up in him.<sup>14</sup>

The struggle of Medardus between the two poles of his self is symbolized by the split nature of his character. The "Doppelgänger" who haunts him and who really is a part of himself, will never leave him until he is ready to face reality. His internal conflict is described most movingly throughout the novel, but best of all may be seen in the beginning after he has changed roles with Viktorin:

Mein eigenes Ich zum grausamen Spiel eines launenhaften Zufalls geworden und in fremdartige Gestalten zerfliessend, schwammen ohne Halt wie in einem Meer all der Ereignisse, die wie tobende Wellen auf mich hineinbrausten. Ich konnte mich selbst nicht wiederfinden! Offenbar wurde Viktorin durch den Zufall, der meine Hand, nicht meinen Willen leitete in den Abgrund gestürzt! Ich trete an seine Stelle, aber Reinhold kennt den Pater Medardus, den Prediger

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Kenneth Negus, E. T. A. Hoffmann's Other World: The Romantic Author and his 'New Mythology' (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), p. 82.

14

Ibid., pp. 82-83.

im Kapuzinerkloster in ..., und so bin ich ihm  
das wirklich was ich bin! - Aber das Verhältnis  
mit der Baronesse, welches Viktorin unterhält  
kommt auf mein Haupt, denn ich selbst bin Viktorin.  
Ich bin das, was ich scheine, und scheine das nicht,  
was ich bin, mir selbst ein unerklärliches Rätsel,  
bin ich entzweit mit meinem Ich!<sup>15</sup>

Such a psychological hell was out of M. G. Lewis' reach.

As a comic relief to these exasperating experiences, which are at times almost nerve-wracking, Hoffmann introduces a broad spectrum of humorous, bizarre and grotesque figures. There are Irish and English characters conversing in Schlegel-Shakespearean blank verse in a pub.

Unwürdiger Green! grün soll's dir werden vor den Augen ja  
ja, greinen sollst du gramerfüllt, wenn du nicht ablässt  
von schmachvoller Tat! Nun dacht ich würde Zank und  
Tumult losbrechen aber der Doktor sagte: So will ich,  
feiger Ohnmacht spottend, ruhig sein und harrn des  
Göttertranks den du bereitet würdiger Ewson! - Er liess  
den Wirt los, der eiligst davonsprang, setzte sich mit  
einer Catos Miene an den Tisch, ergriff die gestopfte  
Pfeiffe, und blies grosse Dampfvolken von sich. - Ist  
das nicht, als wäre man im Theater? sagte der freundliche  
Amtmann zu mir, aber der Doktor, der sonst kein deutsches  
Buch in die Hand nimmt, fand zufällig Schlegels Shakes-  
peare bei mir, und seit der Zeit spielt er, nach seinem  
Ausdruck uralte, bekannte Melodien auf einen fremden  
Instrumente.<sup>16</sup>

The barber Schönfeld, or rather the "hair-artist" (Haarkünstler) is a personification of foolishness and buffoonery itself. With all his mannerisms, he seems to have stepped out of the commedia dell' arte. And indeed, he later on changes his name to Belcampo and becomes a member of an Italian street theatre, for in Germany, he is not recognized as the true genius he really is.

In the course of the novel, Belcampo again and again rescues

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Hoffmann, p. 59.

16

Ibid., p. 139.

Medardus from almost hopeless situations. It is just his whimsical and nonsensical behaviour, and buffoonery that keep Medardus from despairing altogether. He is the humouristic principle itself, which enables Medardus to look at himself from a distance and even to laugh at himself at times. Thus, Belcampo addresses Medardus after he has once again come to his rescue:

.... Ich selbst, ich selbst bin die Narrheit, die ist überall hinter dir her, um deiner Vernunft beizustehen, und du magst es nun einsehen oder nicht, in der Narrheit findest du nur dein Heil, denn die Vernunft ist ein höchst miserables Ding und kann sich nicht aufrecht erhalten, sie taumelt hin und her wie ein gebrechliches Kind und muss mit der Narrheit in Kompagnie treten, die hilft dir auf und weiss den richtigen Weg zu finden.<sup>17</sup>

Humour, personified in Schönfeld - Belcampo, has the function of appearing just when reason is at its wits' end, and both together can then solve the problem. Walter Müller-Seidel in his epilogue to Die Elixiere des Teufels gives the following interpretation of the function of buffoonery in the novel as a whole.

Rationalität und Irrationalität werden bezüglich dieses Bewusstseins als gleichermassen beteiligt gedacht. Die Identität des Menschen mit sich selbst in der bewussten Anerkennung der eigenen Schuld soll sich vertragen mit dem Abstand von sich selbst im humoristischen Prinzip des gelegentlichen Sichverlachsens.<sup>18</sup>

Belcampo, then, is seen as a positive principle. His grotesqueness is mostly simply amusing and makes the reader laugh.

However, there are other grotesque scenes which have a nightmarish quality and remind us of some of Breughel's or Bosch's paintings. Thus, once in his dream Medardus sees Euphemia's body turn into a skeleton, in

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17.

Ibid., p. 213.

18

Ibid., p. 678.

which innumerable snakes are coiled, and he is plagued by monstrous grotesque creatures, distortions of people he knows, with half-human and half-animal traits.

Zum Gerippe eingedorrt war ihr Leib, aber in dem Gerippe wanden sich unzählige Schlangen durcheinander und streckten ihre Häupter, ihre rotglühenden Zungen mir entgegen ... Ich wollte beten, da begann ein sinnwirrendes Flüstern und Rauschen. Menschen, die ich sonst gesehen, erschienen zu tollen Fratzen verunstaltet. Köpfe krochen mit Heuschreckenbeinen, die ihnen an die Ohren gewachsen - umher und lachten mich höhnisch an -, seltsames Geflügel - Raben mit Menschengesichtern rauschten in der Luft. Ich erkannte den Konzertmeister aus B. mit seiner Schwester, die drehte sich in wildem Walzer, und der Bruder spielte dazu auf, aber auf der eigenen Brust streichend, die zur Geige geworden. - Belcampo, mit einem hässlichen Eidechsen-gesicht, auf einem ekelhaften geflügelten Wurm sitzend, fuhr auf mich ein, er wollte meinen Bart kämmen - aber es gelang ihm nicht.<sup>19</sup>

This powerful description of an almost pathological state is truly grotesque. In grotesque paintings the dividing line between human and animal realms is often abolished, and the result is a distortion of reality in which the horror and the menace of the world can be felt. This is exactly what Hoffmann achieves here. The world becomes strange and ominous, filled with monsters.

In his article on German and English Romanticism, Rene Wellek points out that:

in contrast with English and French Romanticism, (German Romanticism) is not Rousseauistic ... In the best things of Tieck, Brentano, Arwin and E. T. A. Hoffmann a sense of the double bottom of the world is conveyed: a fear that man is exposed helplessly to sinister forces, to fate, to chance, to the darkness of an incomprehensible mystery.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup>

Ibid., pp. 222-223.

<sup>20</sup>

See also Wolfgang Johannes Kayser, The Grotesque in Art and Literature, transl. Ulrich Weisstein (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), pp. 68-73.

<sup>21</sup>

Rene Wellek, "German and English Romanticism: A Confrontation" Studies in Romanticism, 4, No. 1 (Autumn, 1964), pp. 46-47.

Wellek goes on to describe the methods which are used by the German Romantics to convey these feelings:

... the Germans convey it by methods not paralleled in England at that time: by the grotesque and by romantic irony.... The grotesque can be repulsive or simply in bad taste, but it is often lifted into the realm of art by the detachment of the author, the psychic distance, the irony, the playing with the materials which is cultivated with particular insistence by the German romantics. 22

For Sir Walter Scott, as for many Englishmen (e.g. Carlyle), the grotesque in Hoffman's works has no artistic value. For him such scenes as described above, are:

the feverish dreams of a light-headed patient, to which, though they may sometimes excite by their peculiarity, or surprise by their oddity, we never feel disposed to yield more than momentary attention. 23

Scott's article On the Supernatural in Fictitious Compositions: and particularly on the works of Ernest Theodore Hoffmann is damning as a whole<sup>24</sup>, for Scott can see in Hoffmann's works "nothing to satisfy the understanding or inform the judgement."<sup>25</sup> That there could be valuable artistic compositions without these components was something he could not see. Perhaps it was due to attitudes such as this, that the German Romantic Novel found no real appreciation among English

22

Ibid., p. 47.

23

Ioan Williams, ed., Sir Walter Scott On Novelists and Fiction, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 352.

24

Wellek, p. 40.

25

Williams, p. 335.

readers. There seemed to be too much of the grotesque and the fantastic in it, and too little of good sound English common sense.

The Romantic novel in Germany, as seen in the work of Tieck and Hoffmann, has indeed no equivalent in England. The Gothic themes and motifs used by both these authors can establish only a very superficial interrelationship, which does not take into consideration all that is most significant and striking in their works. What could be shown, however, was that the Gothic material itself was capable of further development, and could become part of a new concept and a new way of interpreting life.



## VIII. CONCLUSION

In the foregoing paper an attempt has been made to clarify the interrelationship between the English and the German novel in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Several conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. First of all, the literary interrelationship between the two countries can be considered close only in terms of the quantity of works exchanged. Never before were so many German novels translated into English and vice versa. On the other hand, the quality of these works was too often of lower calibre, and did not represent what was best and most significant in the two countries. The best contact on this lower level was established between the Gothic novel in England and the Trivialroman in Germany, and it is clear that the difference between the two types is not as great as generally believed.

The investigation has further indicated that there is no adequate basis for the belief that these novels were preparing the way for the Romantic movement. The majority of them is rather still based on rationalistic principles.

A great part of the paper has been devoted to the German Sturm und Drang movement and the role it played in the interrelationship between the two countries. From the foregoing analysis the fact has been established that the Sturm und Drang movement, and especially Goethe and Schiller, had no influence of major importance on either the Gothic novelists or the authors of the Trivialromane. Apart from seemingly similar motifs and themes, no fundamental Sturm und Drang ideas found any expression in the works of either of the two groups.

As to M. G. Lewis, the examination of his sources shows that he indeed derived most of his material from German literature. However, he made a very deliberate choice as to what he used for his novel, The Monk. He picked out those elements which were of special interest for him, but should not be considered as representing the German Trivialroman as a whole. Finally, this study has attempted to indicate that the Gothic material had the potential of further development, and could assume great meaning and depth in the hands of the Romantic novelists.

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## APPENDIX

## Translations of German Quotations

Chapter I, Footnote 5

The historic novel, which was extremely popular in the late 18th century, as well as the Räuber-und Schauerroman, feeds on the dragged along elements of popular fiction; artistic talents will hardly be found among writers such as Vulpuiß, Schlenker, Fesser, Veit Weber, Cramer and Spiess.

Chapter II, Footnote 4

Those types of fiction, which one decade later dominate the market, the romantic and pseudo-romantic Ritter-Räuber und Schauerromane are still altogether absent in 1780.

Chapter III, Footnote 23

Hussey refers in The Picturesque to an exclamation, rendered by William Gilpin, of a certain Mr. Avison in view of such a landscape of contrasts: "Here is beauty indeed - Beauty, lying in the lap of Horror! "

Chapter IV, Footnote 3

The darker ages of German history had always occupied my desire for knowledge and my imagination. The thought of dramatising Götz von Berlichingen, with all the circumstances of his time, was one which I much liked and valued. I industriously read the chief authors: to Datt's work De Pace Publica, I devoted all of my attention. I had sedulously studied it through, and rendered those singular details as visible to me as possible. These endeavours, which were directed to moral and poetical ends, I could also use in another direction; and I was to visit Wetzlar. I had sufficient historical preparation; for the Imperial Chamber had arisen in consequence of the public tranquillity, and its history could serve as an important clew through the confused events of Germany. This passage is taken from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Truth and Fiction Relating To My Life, trans. John Oxenford; ed. Nathan Haskell Dole (London: Robertson, Ashford and Bentley, 1902), 2, pp. 146-147.

Chapter IV, Footnote 4

.....his plays all focus on the secret point, which no philosopher has seen and defined yet, the clash between the singularities of our self, the pretended freedom of our will, and the necessary course of the whole.

Chapter IV, Footnote 5

.....it sours this little bit of life and freedom a man has.

Freedom! Freedom!

Chapter IV, Footnote 6

What we call evil, is only the other side of good, which is as necessary to its existence and part of the whole, as the torrid zone must be hot and Lapland frozen up, in order that there may be a temperate climate.

Chapter IV, Footnote 7

O! fie on the slaughter of women and children - the slaughter of boys! How this deed weighs me down! It has poisoned my fairest actions - here stands the boy, red with shame and heaped with scorn, who was so presumptuous to trifle with Jupiter's thunderbolts, and who overthrew pygmies when he should have crushed titans.

Chapter IV, Footnote 8

Oh! what a fool I was to believe that I could embellish the world by atrocities and uphold the law by lawlessness ..... but there is still something left by which I can appease the majesty of the law that I abused and restore the order that I assaulted. A victim is needed, a victim which will unfold all the indestructable majesty of the law before all mankind. I shall be this victim. My own death shall atone for it.

Chapter IV, Footnote 9

Let us go then! Do not fear death or danger; for we are ruled by an unyielding destiny! Each of us is overtaken by death one day, whether it be on a soft pillow of down, or in the thickest of the fight, or on the gallows or on the wheel! One or the other is our fate.

Chapter IV, Footnote 10

I am not like the Gods, too well I feel! No! Like a worm, that writhes in dust am I, which, as it feeds on dust, the passer-by stamps into nothingness beneath his heel.

(This passage is quoted in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, The Tragedy of Faust, Vol. 6, trans. Sir Theodore Martin, ed. Nathan Haskell Dole (London: Robertson, Ashford and Bentley, 1902), p. 36).

Chapter IV, Footnote 12

Once a person has finally managed to refine his reason at the expense of his heart - an achievement which we do not envy - even the most sacred will not be sacred to him any longer, - he will neither respect humanity nor God - both worlds will be nothing to him. I have tried to delineate a striking lively portrait of such a 'non-person', to analyze the complete mechanism of his vices and to weigh their power against truth.



Chapter IV, Footnote 13

A mind which is attracted by the utmost vice only for the sake of the greatness which is attached to it, the power which it requires and the dangers which accompany it. A remarkable, important person, endowed with all the powers into the direction which those will take, necessarily either to become a Brutus or a Catalina.

Chapter IV, Footnote 15

..... a contribution to the history of deceit and the aberrations of the human mind.

Chapter IV, Footnote 16

The character of Cagliostro, whose traits reappear in the Armenian of the Geisterseher, attracted the imagination of the century. In all the capitals of Europe he again and again found faithful worshippers and passionate opponents, only to reach the inglorious end of his adventurous career behind the prison walls of the Inquisition in Rome, in 1795. In the years 1785-86 the interest in Cagliostro reached its peak by the notorious necklace law-suit in Paris. In a letter written by Mirabeau, in which he refers to Cagliostro and Lavater and which originated in Berlin in 1780, it is said that Cagliostro was in close contact with a group of people, who were trying to achieve certain aims, important to them, with his help, and it is furthermore claimed that he was an instrument of the Jesuits, who, aided by such magicians, were aiming at 'exciting the imagination of the great, at deceiving them and at obtaining surreptitiously their trust'.

Chapter IV, Footnote 17

..... a political event.

Chapter IV, Footnote 18

She did not take any notice of me, she did not allow herself to be disturbed by my intrusion, so totally was she lost in her prayers. She prayed to her Deity, and I prayed to her - yes, I adored her - all those pictures of saints, those altars, those burning tapers had not reminded me of it; now, for the first time it burst upon me, as if I was in a sacred place. Shall I confess it to you? At that moment I firmly believed in Him, whose image was clasped in her beautiful hand.

Chapter V, Footnote 3

..... the English critics have not failed .... to identify him as a pupil 'of the wild German school'.

Chapter V, Footnote 8

At the end the author does not emerge any longer interpreting the contents or even rounding off the action, as it had been the case in the novel of

the 18th century; even he fails in front of this monstrosity, which violates all the rules that had been guiding Walpole, Radcliffe and their imitators. This disappearance of the author is symptomatic for the turning-away from the tradition of the Gothic novel. For there the conception of the world as sound and whole was formally accomplished in such a way that the author, out of his epic omniscience, gave a few hints at the future life-story of the hero.

#### Chapter V, Footnote 11

Although the similarities with this tale of a sailor, whose beloved turns out to be the devil, are far too vague and although Lewis - otherwise very candid in his mention of sources - vehemently denied the knowledge of the Diable Amoureux, it was only in 1953 that it could be proven that an embarrassing mistake had been made with regard to the source.

#### Chapter V, Footnote 16

Quite a similar hold-up in L. Flammenberg's Geisterbanner, which was known to Lewis, contains almost all the motifs; the place (Black Forest, a wood-cutter's hut), conspiracies among letter-carriers, inn-keepers and robbers, the blood in the bed, the uneasiness aroused by the host's weapons, the supper together, overshadowed by suspicion and the rescue by a friend.

#### Chapter VI, Footnote 1

A survey of the totality of Lewis non-original works taken from the German reveals, in the majority of the cases and especially in the most important parts of the translations and adaptations, a deliberate principle of selection. .... That Lewis interest was generally directed towards the supernatural as a constituting element of the share of poetic destiny, becomes obvious if you remember, that he .... picked out just those scenes for further use in his own works, in which the irrational and supernatural breaks into the human sphere.

#### Chapter VI, Footnote 2

Even in the most recent literary criticism it is stubbornly claimed that they (the Ritterromane) were based on the imitation of the Götz, just as the Räuberromane are said to be modelled after the Räuber, the Geisterromane after the Geisterscher. Müller-Frauenreuth introduced this thesis.

#### Chapter VI, Footnote 3

The supreme literary figures (Goethe and Schiller) .... only encouraged the still hesitant by their example to openly treat these motifs of the literary subconscious in an age of rationalism: however, the motifs themselves, with which they operate, are based on a much older literary

tradition, and are still the property of the nation, before Götz appears.

Chapter VI, Footnote 4

The authors are only too happy to seize on the material, thus rehabilitated, for on account of its colourful richness, it was capable of breaking the supremacy of the moralistic and didactic novel.

Chapter VI, Footnote 5

Shaking the naive sense of safety of rationalistic complacency.

Chapter VI, Footnote 6

They are true products of the age of rationalism. Their Middle Ages are in reality nothing but a wish-dream of a vigorous life, close to nature, their ghosts are humane teachers of virtue and the miracle is a casuistical play with 'delusions' that finds its explanation in the theory of the possible worlds, against which the real world undoubtedly holds its own in the end.....Everything is aimed at instruction, betterment and emotional response. They do not give depth to life but rather make it all too easy. While in the ghost stories of Romanticism everything is dream and presentiment, the rationalistic ghost stories are all contract, arrangement and calculation.

Chapter VI, Footnote 7

Moreover, it has to be stated, that it is a mistake to blame Spiess and the like with lasciviousness. Their novels are on the contrary overly virtuous and the seductive manoeuvres of the lovers, which are sometimes set going either by the devil with bad - or by the genius with pedagogical intentions, seem to be rather theoretical.

Chapter VI, Footnote 9

This becomes apparent not only in the sceptical, matter-of-fact tone and the novelistic style, which often makes use of the frame, but especially in the attitudes on which the novels are based. What is of importance to her is, without question, the ability to cope with life in a rational way, while the intrusion of the unreal causes confusion or even disaster.

Chapter VI, Footnote 13

You must not forget to read the second part of the Genius, it is more wonderful than the first. I have already recommended this book to you and the Tasso, I now want to recommend another one, more than the Tasso and almost more than the Genius.

Chapter VI, Footnote 14

If you want to be truly happy for a few hours, read the second part of the Genius, which appeared on the last Easter fair, it has made me extremely happy, there is hardly anything marvelous in it, but I recognized myself

so completely in it, all my favourite ideas were so beautifully expressed, that I have come to like the author extremely well; read it soon and pay special attention to the scene with the hermit, this is, in my opinion, the most beautiful, the author's triumph.

#### Chapter VI, Footnote 17

Almost all typical men of German Romanticism suffered, at some time, .... from a longing for the old, orthodox, Christian tradition :.... some of them did indeed become Catholic.

#### Chapter VII, Footnote 2

Giants, dwarfs, ghosts, witches, a little bit of bloodshed and murder, moonshine and sunset, all this sweetened with love and sentimentality in order to get it down a bit more smoothly, are roughly the ingredients of which the whole mass of the latest tales, from the Petermännchen to the Castle of Otranto, from the Genius to the Hechelkrämer, consists. The Marquis von Grosse has given the taste of all the reading circles a different direction, but at the same time his Spanish wind has given them a stomach ache.

#### Chapter VII, Footnote 4

Had I not always wanted to live in such a summer house, where uncanny things occur and where, in each dark chamber, in a beech arbour or in a subterranean passage, one thinks of all the good and the bad novels of Miss Radcliffe. Instead of asking: "Have the swallows returned? Has the stork come back to its old nest?" you inquire now: "Are we haunted again this year, are the horrors doing well this autumn? How is our dear little ghost? Has the little grey man appeared again?" .... My room has to be located in a lonely spot. In the evening, by the light of the lamp, Manfred will read something frightening to us, we are all horrified, nobody wants to go to bed, finally - our hearts beating - we bid each other good night, and I sit here all alone and recoil from my own shadow and do not dare to clean the lamp or to extinguish the light. Now you can hear something creeping down the hall, the trees are rustling so strangely, there is the hollow sound of a clock striking twelve in the distance.

#### Chapter VII, Footnote 5

On the top of the mountain nature offered us a wonderful view. The landscape, or as much of it as we could make out, lay before us like a chaos, a thick mist had enveloped the mountains, and a dark vapour was creeping through the valleys; clouds and rocks, which the eye could not distinguish from each other, were scattered around in bunches; a gloomy sky was breeding on the grey interflowing shapes. Now, in the east, an oblique red ray was breaking through the disarrayed dimness of dawn, multicoloured beams of light were flashing through the mist and glistening in manifold rainbows, the contours of the mountains were visible and the summits appeared like fire-balls over the sinking mist.

Chapter VII, Footnote 7

..... the old mediaeval castle, high up on the rocks, wrapped in beliefs of ghosts, the vast, dark forests surrounding it, but above all, the atmospheric life of this landscape.

Chapter VII, Footnote 8

The evening was so dark; the green shadows of the forest so sad, the brook uttered nothing but laments, the clouds in the sky drew his longing over and beyond the mountains.

Chapter VII, Footnote 9

His anxiety increased while he was approaching the mountains, the distant ruins became visible already and gradually grew more distinct in outline. The rounded mountain tops were rising out of the blue mist. His steps became hesitant, he often stopped, wondering why he was afraid, why the shudders increased in intensity with each step. "I know you well - madness", he exclaimed, "and your dangerous lures, but I will resist like a man! ..... Do I not see the forests like black hair in front of me? Does the brook not stare at me with flashing eyes? Do the giant limbs of the mountains not stride towards me?"

Chapter, VII, Footnote 10

It is mute nature itself, that is uncanny, its silent mountains and quiet forests, its solitude and distance from human habitation. The uncanniness of its strange grandeur does not lie in tangible dangers, but just in dangers that cannot be grasped. Nowhere did Tieck express this in a more fascinating way than in the Runenberg

Chapter VII, Footnote 12

In my brother's chamber I saw a foreign book lying on the table, I opened it, it was a novel translated from the English, entitled The Monk

Chapter VII, Footnote 15

My own self had become the sport of a cruel, capricious accident and, dissolving into strange persons, I was floating without support, in an ocean of events, its wild waves roaring around me. I could not find myself! Obviously, accident, which had been guiding my hand but not my will, had flung Viktorin into the precipice. I take his place, but Reinhold knows brother Medardus, the priest of the Capuchines in ....., and therefore I am really the one I am for him. But I am to be blamed for the relationship which Viktorin had with the baroness, for I am Viktorin. I am that, which I appear to be, and I do not appear to be that which I am, an inexplicable mystery to myself, I am torn from my own self.

Chapter VII, Footnote 16

Unworthy Green! Green thou shalt turn and grumble, filled with grief, desist thou not from this ignominious deed! I thought an uproar would break loose now, with fighting and scolding, but the doctor said: "Let me then keep my peace, and, scorning cowardly weakness, await the nectar which thou hast prepared, worthy Ewson!" He let the inn-keeper go and quickly ran off, sat down at the table with the expression of a Cato on his face, picked up the filled pipe and puffed big clouds of smoke in front of him. "Isn't that almost as if you were in the theatre?" the kind bailiff said to me, "the doctor, who usually never picks up a German book, accidentally found a Schlegel-Shakespeare in my house and ever since then, he is playing - in his own words - ancient, familiar tunes on a foreign instrument."

Chapter VII, Footnote 17

..... I myself am the folly, which is following you everywhere, in order to assist your reason, and you may believe it or not, only folly will redeem you, for reason is an extremely pitiful thing and cannot support itself, but staggers about like a frail child and has to keep company with folly, which lends a hand and knows the right way.

Chapter VII, Footnote 18

In this consciousness, rationalism and irrationalism are considered as playing equal roles. Man's identity with his self, in the conscious acceptance of his own guilt, has to be made compatible with the distancing of the self by the humouristic principle of being able to laugh at oneself occasionally.

Chapter VII, Footnote 19

Her body had shrivelled up into a skeleton, but in this skeleton innumerable snakes were coiling and pointing their heads and fiery red tongues at me. .... I wanted to pray, when I heard a disconcerting whispering and rustling. People I had seen before, appeared before me, but distorted into grotesque caricatures. Heads were crawling around on locust legs, which had grown out of their ears, and were sneering at me - strange birds - ravens with human faces were flapping the air. I recognized the conductor from B. with his sister, she was dancing to the tune of a wild waltz, and the brother played to it, but on his own chest, which had turned into a violin, - Belcampo, with an ugly lizard's face and sitting on a repulsive worm, attacked me, he wanted to comb my beard with a red-hot iron comb - but he did not succeed in it.

VITA AUCTORIS

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